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THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

PART XXII

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES

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PREFACE

As his contribution to this Part, Mr. Lobel has chosen the difficult but rewarding texts of Ionic poetry comprised between the numbers **2309** and **2328,** while the wide variety of the remaining texts is the work of Mr. C. H. Roberts. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the continuing interest and assistance of U.N.E.S.C.O., a grant from whose funds has for a second time facilitated the appearance of a Part in this series. Thanks are due also to Mr. A. E. Harvey, of Worcester College, Oxford, for compiling the indexes to Mr. Lobel's section, and to Dr. John Barns, Lecturer in Papyrology in the University of Oxford, for performing a similar service to Mr. Roberts's section. Last of all, I wish to express a proper gratitude to the staff of the Oxford University Press for their usual care and for the extra effort made to produce this book by the end of the year in order to satisfy the conditions of the U.N.E.S.C.O. grant.

Within a few months of the publication of this volume, the Second Part of the Hibeh Papyri (the first Part of which appeared as long ago as 1906) should be in the hands of readers. Part XXIII of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, which the Jowett Copyright Trustees have generously offered to finance, will consist entirely of literary papyri, and will include some new pieces of Bacchylides, Corinna, and Stesichorus.

E. G. TURNER
General Editor of the
Graeco-Roman Memoirs

September 1954

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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION

THE method of publication follows that adopted in Part XX. As there, the dots indicating letters unread and, within square brackets, the estimated number of lost letters are printed, in the case of the new literary texts edited by Mr. Lobel, slightly below the line. Elsewhere, throughout, the more usual practice is followed, the dots being printed on the line. Furthermore, in the new literary texts, corrections and annotations which appear to be in a different hand from that of the original scribe are printed in thick type. Non-literary texts are printed in modern form, with accents and punctuation, the lectional signs occurring in the papyri being noted in the *apparatus criticus*, where also faults of orthography, &c., are corrected. Iota adscript is printed where written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, round brackets ( ) the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets ⟨ ⟩ a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets ⟦ ⟧ a deletion, the signs ‘ ’ an insertion above the line. Dots within brackets represent the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside brackets mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. In the new literary texts letters not read or marked as doubtful in the literal transcript may be read or appear without the dot marking doubt in the reconstruction if the context justifies this. Lastly, heavy Arabic numerals refer to Oxyrhynchus papyri printed in this and preceding volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small Roman numerals to columns.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in Liddell and Scott, *Greek–English Lexicon* (ninth ed.). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

NEW CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS

2309. Homer, *Margites*

A poem composed of hexameters and iambic trimeters alternating in blocks of irregular size immediately calls to mind the account given by the metricians of the structure of Homer's *Margites*. Hephaestion, for instance, says (*μετρ. εἰσαγ. π. ποιημ.* p. 59 Consb.): *μετρικὰ δὲ ἄτακτα, ὅσα ἐκ μέτρων μὲν ὁμολογουμένων συνέστηκε τάξιν δὲ καὶ ἀνακύκλησιν οὐκ ἔχει, οὔτε κατὰ στίχον οὔτε συστηματικά· οἷός ἐστιν ὁ Μαργίτης ὁ εἰς Ὅμηρον ἀναφερόμενος, ἐν ᾧι παρέσπαρται τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἰαμβικά, καὶ ταῦτα οὐ κατ' ἴσον σύστημα*, and similarly *π. ποιημ.* p. 65 Consb. (cf. Mar. Vict. in *GL* vi p. 68 Keil, ib. p. 79, ib. p. 133; fr. de hex. ib. p. 633), which perfectly accords with the succession of $n+2$ hexameters, 4 trimeters, 6 hexameters, 3 trimeters, 1 hexameter, $1+n$ trimeters exhibited by the piece published here.

Margites is one of a number of ninnies celebrated in Greek literature whose names may be conveniently found in Eustathius (1669, 41). Of Margites he says: *οὕτως ἔγνωμεν καὶ τὸν ἄφρονα Μαργίτην . . . ὃν ὁ ποιήσας τὸν ἐπιγραφόμενον Ὁμήρου Μαργίτην ὑποτίθεται εὐπόρων μὲν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν γονέων φῦναι, γήμαντα δὲ μὴ συμπεσεῖν τῆι νύμφηι ἕως ἀναπεισθεῖσα ἐκείνη τετραυματίσθαι τὰ κάτω ἐσκήψατο, φάρμακόν τε μηδὲν ὠφελήσειν ἔφη πλὴν εἰ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον αἰδοῖον ἐκεῖ ἐφαρμοσθείη. καὶ οὕτω θεραπείας χάριν ἐκεῖνος ἐπλησίασεν* (cf. Suidas in *Μαργίτης*, Hesychius in *Μαργέτης*, also Suetonius in Miller, *Mélanges* 422, Suidas in *γέλοιος*, Niceph. Blemm. *βασιλ. ἀνδρ.* 11). Evidently the action of which the gist is thus given might well have had for its setting the bedroom scene described in our fragment.

It is then a reasonable conclusion that **2309** contained the *Margites* and, though a generalization based on less than two dozen half-lines has not much chance of containing any important part of the truth, it is worth while remarking that at any rate in what this papyrus preserves there correspond to the metrical variation differences of language and tone. The hexameters are composed in the elevated style of the epic and might come from the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* (though actual Homeric clichés are few), the trimeters are in the dialect and of the metrical type used by the Ionic iambic writers,[1] and the vocabulary recalls Hipponax. If Eustratius' statement (on Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* vi 7, p. 320, 36 Heylbut), that Archilochus spoke of the *Margites*, is correct, ll. 3–6, 14–16, 18 of this piece are the earliest specimens of Ionic verse we possess.

The hand is a formal though by no means calligraphic uncial of a distinctly early appearance which might fall within the first century B.C. but is perhaps more probably to be placed in the first century A.D. It seems to me to belong to the same type as P. Ryl. 54 and P. Berol. 9770 but to have shed the Ptolemaic stroke.

[1] See Knox, *Philologus* 87, 18 seqq.

].ϛτιν[..]ειριδεμακ.ηι	[	].ϛτιν[. χ]ειρὶ δὲ μακρῆι
].ευχε.[.]αιραελαϛϛε	[	].εὔχεᾳ [κ]αί ῥα ἔλαϛϛε
]ονοι[.]νειχετο	[	π]όνοι[ϛι]ν εἴχετο
]ϛενδε[.]ηιαμιδι	[	]ν ἐν δὲ [τ]ῆι ἀμίδι
5]ϛξελειν̣δαμηχανον	[	]ἐξελεῖν δ' ἀμήχανον
]α.ρ..ωμιξενταχυ̣	[	]α.ρ.ν ὤμιξεν ταχύ
]κ[...]ηνεφραϛϛατομητι[		]κ[...]ην ἐφράϛϛατο μῆτι[ν
]λιπωναποδεμνια[		]λιπὼν ἀπὸ δέμνια[
]θυρασεκδεδραμ̣ενεξω[		]θύρας ἐκ δ' ἔδραμεν ἔξω
10].νδιανυκταμελα[		].ν διὰ νύκτα μέλα[ιναν
]υϛειεδεχειρα̣ϛ		]υϛειε δὲ χεῖρα
]ανυκταμελαιν[		δι]ὰ νύκτα μέλαιν[αν
].ενουδεφα.ι̣.[		].ενουδεφα.ι.[
]δυϛτηνονκα.[		]δύϛτηνον κα.[
15]εδοκεεν̣λιθ[		]ἐδόκεεν λιθ[
].ικαιχειριπαχ[		].ι καὶ χειρὶ παχ[είηι
]θηκενοϛτρα[		ἐ]θηκεν ὀϛτρα[κ
].ρε[.].[.]μα[		].ρε[.].[.]μα[
]κα̣[..].αυ[		]κα[..].αυ[
20].[...].ω[		].[...].ω[
]..κ[		]..κ[

. . . . . .

1 For].ϛ possibly]κ χ by itself seems all that the gap will hold Of ρ only a dot not quite level with the tops of the letters 6 After ρ a letter with a flattened top resembling some ε s and θ s, just possibly ο 10]., the right-hand arc of ο or ω 11 The trace above the final ϛ may be a dot denoting cancellation 13]., a stroke curving slightly from left to right, possibly μ After α two traces compatible with ν or π .[, the left-hand arc of a circle 14 .[, a short vertical stroke level with the top of the letters, ρ possible 16]., the right-hand arc of a circle 19 υ is anomalously made but τ would be no more satisfactory 20].[, the top of ε or ϛ]., the right-hand tip of a cross-bar as of τ 21 Before κ the top of a circle

1 Not a locution found in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, where μακρόϛ never means simply 'big'.
3 I should guess ἐν π. (cf. P.S.I. 1089, 6?), though the unaccompanied dative is common enough.
7 Two fairly broad letters would fill the gap, e.g. κ[ακ]ήν (cf. *Il.* ii 114), or it might be, for example,]κ[ι νέ]ην (cf. *Il.* xvii 634).
8 i.e. ἀπολιπών.
9 Presumably 'opened', ὤιξε or ἀνέωιξε, cf. particularly *Od.* xxiii 370.
13 The division is indeterminable. I think φανίον in some case may be recognized at the end, though it is only late attested (Meleager, *A.P.* xii 82; Eust. 1571).
14 Possibly κάρα.
17 Perhaps the ἀμίϛ again.

2310. Archilochus, Iambic Trimeters

Although the fragments as taken out of the ground of a roll containing iambic trimeters by Archilochus have lent themselves fairly satisfactorily to combination to produce the largest of the pieces here published, the papyrus is so defaced, warped, and broken that the decipherment of the text and the estimation of the lacunae must be accepted with great reserve, which is the more to be regretted since the piece contains much the longest consecutive series of lines by this author that we now possess. Apart from technical difficulties, it is doubtful how the series is to be articulated. We may be satisfied that a new piece begins at 41, for even if the short line, 40, does not exhibit quite the appearance one would expect in a heading, it is clear that the subject completely changes between 39 and 41, but how many poems or parts of poems are represented in the preceding verses? Prima facie, since there is among them no short line analogous to 40, only one. Whatever the difficulty of reconciling the conquering warrior of 17–20 with the woman addressed in 8, there is no possibility that the end of a piece occurs before 20 and since, though the papyrus is broken off close to the beginnings of the lines, a paragraphus below 20 should be partially visible and there is none, the presumption must be that 21 goes with them, though this entails a special difficulty. On the other hand, the eighteen verses 22–39 might well belong to one story—you came from Gortyn(ia) with a large cargo(?) in a little ship and got home(?) again safely to my great relief—having no obvious connexion with the preceding, though it is not possible to say categorically that there was none. However this may be, 8–20 are well enough preserved to raise the expectation that they could be understood by themselves, but though the separate parts are comprehensible they appear to be strung together so inconsequently that the general sense eludes me.

The slovenly and irregular hand belongs to the same type as **666, 1176, 2079,** and I should date it about the middle of the second century, comparing the document from Theadelphia dated A.D. 148 which is reproduced in *B. Soc. arch. Alex.* no. 14 pl. xi. A large proportion of the lection signs and corrections seem to be by the hand of the text, others are made with a thinner pen.

Fr. 1 Col. i

Traces of 7 lines

5 ρ.μειβομ[
.ουc.
.υνα[.]φατινμεντην..ocανθρωπω[
μὴτετρὰμηνηcμη.ε[[μ]]αμφιδ...[
10 εμοιμελησει·[.]υμονὶλ[.]οντὶθεῦ·
].ἑτοῦτρδητοιτηcαν..βε.ηcδοκ[
].κειψανηρτριδειλοcᾶ..φαινρμην[
..]δοῖοcεὶμ'ε..[.]υτρcούοιωνάπ.·
..]ιcτaμαιτοιτονφιλ[..].[..]μενφ[.].εει.[
15 ..].εχθρονεχθ.α..ειψ..[..].κὰκρ[
..]ρμηξλογω..υντ[.....]θειηπάρ[
..]λινδεταυτ.[...].[.....]πιcτρε[...].[
..].οιποτανδρεcξ.[.....]caν·cυ.[
].νειλεcαιχμή.κ.[.....]ξηρα[...]εοc
20]κειηcανac.εκ...[....].ιηνεχε·
].[.].[..].[..]η[..].ωτοca[...]ωπωνεcεαι
]ν.ἰcυν.[.].κρημεγαν
]acηλθεcεκγορτυνιῆc
]..ο....π.εcτaθη.
]..αιτοδαρπαλ[.]ζομ[ ]
25].γυηcαφικ[
].μοιcινε.[.....].c
].ειρακαιπ[..]εcτ[.]θη.[
]ο.cac.[.]ρτιωνδεμοιμε[.]..
].οcειταπωλετο
30]νε.α.ηχανη
]λ..ρυτωνευροιμηνεγω
].κυμαλοcκατεκλυcεν
].νχερcιναιχμητεωνυπο
]βηναγλ[.]ηναπ[.].εc[.]c
35]θεῖκαιcεθε[...]ρυcατρ
].[.].κ.μ.μουνωθεντὶδ..
]. ενζοφωδεκειμενο [
].[.]φα[...]ατεcταθην
].c·
40]τιcανθρωπουφυη
].διηνὶαι.[.]τα[
].τ..με..cα[...].cαθη
]εβουκολωιφαλ[..].ωι
]ocμαντιcαλλεγωπεcο.
45]γαρμοιζευcπατηρολυμπιων
]θηκεκαγαθογμετανδραcι
μ
]δανευρυ[[τ]]acδιη.ετο[

Col. ii

.
πο..[
ν...[.].[
φθ.....[.].[
χ.....[
ων.....[
π.ημαιν.[
ημε.....[
.υτ....[
.αι...αν[
.....δἴ.[
αμν[..]..[
..[.]..[..].[
κ[.].[..]μβαλ[
..]ψ.δεκ[.].[
.].....[

Fr. 1 Col. i

5 ἰμειβομ[..·
γύνα[ι], φάτιν μὲν τὴν πρὸς ἀνθρώπω[ν
μὴ τετραμήνηις μηδέν· ἀμφιδεῦ.[
10 ἐμοὶ μελήcει· [θ]υμὸν ἵλ[α]ον τίθευ.
ἐc τοῦτο δή τοι τῆc ἀνολβείης δοκ[έω
ἥκειν; ἀνήρ τοι δειλὸc ἆρ' ἐφαινόμην
οὐ]δ' οἷόc εἰμ' ἐγὼ [.]υτὸc οὐδ' οἵων ἄπο.
ἐπ]ίcταμαί τοι τὸν φιλ[έο]ν[τα] μὲν φ[ι]λέειν,
15 τὸ]ν ⟨δ'⟩ ἐχθρὸν ἐχθαίρειν τε [κα]ὶ κακο[cτομέειν
μύ]ρμηξ λόγω. .υντ[.....]θείη πάρ[α.
πό]λιν δὲ ταύτη[ν ..].[.... ἐ]πιcτρε[φ..].[
..].οι ποτ' ἄνδρεc ἐξ.[.....]caν, cὺ δ[έ
.].ν εἵλεc αἰχμῆι κ.[.....]ξηρα[...]εοc
20 κείνηc ἄναcce καὶ τ[....].ιην ἔχε.
π[.].[..].[..]η[..]η.ωτοc ἀ[νθρ]ώπων ἔceαι
]νηὶ cὺν ς[μ]ικρῆι μέγαν
]ac ἦλθεc ἐκ Γορτυνίηc
]..ο....π.εcτάθη.
]..αι τόδ' ἁρπαλ[ί]ζομ[ ]
25].γυηc ἀφικ[
].μοιcινε.[.....].c
]χεῖρα καὶ π[..]εcτ[.]θη.
]ο.cac φ[ο]ρτίων δέ μοι με[.]..
].οc εἶτ' ἀπώλετο
30]νε.α μηχανή
]λ.c οὕτιν' εὑροίμην ἐγώ
]. κῦμ' ἁλὸc κατέκλυcεν
].ν χερcὶν αἰχμητέων ὕπο
η]βην ἀγλ[α]ὴν ἀπ[ώ]λεc[α]c
35]θεῖ καί cε θε[ὸc ἐρ]ρύcατο
].[.]. κἀμὲ μουνωθέντ' ἴδη.
]ν ἐν ζόφωι δὲ κείμενο⟨c⟩
]ἑ[c] φά[oc κ]ατεcτάθην.
]c·
40]τιc ἀνθρώπου φυή
ἀλλ' ἄλλοc ἄλλωι κα]ρδίην ἰαίν[ε]τα[ι
].τ..με..cα[...]. cάθη
]ε βουκόλωι φαλ[..].ωι
]oc μάντιc ἀλλ' ἐγὼ πέcοι
45]γάρ μοι Ζεὺc πατὴρ Ὀλυμπίων
ἔ]θηκε κἀγαθὸν μετ' ἀνδράcι
]δ' ἂν Εὐρύμαc διη.ετο[

Fr. 1 Col. i 1 seqq. All that remains of the lines preceding that numbered 8 is scattered traces of letters which become continuous and legible in a few places, mostly on the right-hand side, e.g. 5 εργμα.[, 6 cεβεω[, 7 ρ.μειβομ[13 After ε (which perhaps has a lightly made grave accent on it) what appears to be a rewritten letter followed by ω 15 There are traces of a letter between θ and α, but εχθραινειν was not written 16 ουν possible but not suggested. Perhaps νυν 19 Before κ what looks like a flattened χ, which seems to have no function The purpose of the bracket and dots slightly lower than the right-hand end of this line is obscure; cancellation does not appear to be intended 21 .[interlinear, the upper part of an upright 22 c[μ] is quite uncertain, μ[ε] may equally well have been written 23 The marks above ης are perhaps not letters 24 There is a good deal of legible ink but I cannot combine it satisfactorily; before ο what most resembles the upper part of a rather broad χ followed by a headless ρ, between ο and π what might be taken as τιτ. (but the last τ is particularly anomalous and ιτ. may be only two letters), after η a crossbar as of π or τ with the left end slightly cocked up The traces after η may not be ink or may be a cancelled letter, ν? 25]., a thick dot like the end of a crossbar above the level of the letters, κ not suggested 26]., an upright 27]., perhaps the apex of α or λ .[, the left-hand ends of strokes compatible with ζ or ξ]., the lower part of an upright 29 Between ο and ς the bottom of an upright Of φ only the extreme lower tip]., the lower end of a stroke descending from left to right followed by the lower part of an upright descending below the line, μέ[λ]ει not suggested but perhaps not excluded 31 After ε what looks like c, or possibly ο, with a crossbar as of τ upon it 34]., ο or ω 36 There is not room for more than [οcε] 37 Possibly δης, but this is not suggested by the ink 40 What I have interpreted as a stop might be the top of a rubbed c; then]ς would be ε or ο 42 Archil. fr. 36 43]., an upright, ι or ν Before μ the lower end of a stroke descending from the left After ε traces which suit λη]., the lower part of an upright 44]., the bottom of an upright 48 Above the τ deleted by a stroke ascending from left to right a dot which makes τ look like ψ Between η and ε a short stroke like the end of the upper right-hand branch of χ

Fr. 1 Col. ii The papyrus is very much rubbed and the calculation of missing letters therefore rough and perhaps even frivolous. But what survives is made worth printing by the possibility that ll. 37–38 contain the known fragment 27. I see nothing against ὦναξ Ἀπολ[λον, καὶ σὺ τοὺς μὲν αἰτίους | πήμαινε[καί cφεας ὄλλυ' ὥcπερ ὀλλύειc | ἡμέας δὲ .[(αναξ and cημαιν Macrob. codd.)

Fr. 1 Col. i 7 Either ἀμείβομαι or ἠμειβόμην must have been intended but the ink now resembles neither α nor η, nor indeed any letter of this hand.

If the speaker is Archilochus himself, the boast in ll. 14 seq. may be set beside that in Archil. fr. 65 ἓν δ' ἐπίcταμαι μέγα, τὸν κακῶc μ' ἔρδοντα δέννοιc' ἀνταμείβεcθαι κακοῖc. Who is addressed? In l. 8 γύναι seems inescapable, but I do not know how this is to be reconciled with the references to a warrior, who in l. 21 (if this verse is in the same piece) is qualified by what is prima facie a masculine adjective. See on l. 20.

8 φάτιν: perhaps supply [κακήν. In such locutions πρός with the genitive is normal usage (cf., for example, Hdt. vii 5 λόγος . . . πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθός) but πρὸς ἀνθρώπουc—the variant must be supposed superscribed over the wrong ω—may be justified by the analogy of the employment of πρός with genitive or accusative indifferently in specifying topographical relation. Cf. Eur. *Or.* 30 πρὸς οὐχ ἅπαντας εὔκλειαν φέρον.

9 seq. μέλει . . . ἀμφί unattested, μέλει . . . περί (ὑπέρ) found from Aeschylus on.

10 ἴλἀον: see on **2320** 19.

τιθεῦ must be signified—the grave accent τὶ presumably written to preclude the articulation -όν τι θεῦ—but the Attic accent is paroxytone, τίθου Aesch. *Eum.* 226 (for the more usual τίθεco). For the locution cf. **2313** fr. 3(*a*) 5, *Il.* ix 639 ἵλαον ἔνθεο θυμόν, Theogn. 89 καθαρὸν θέμενος νόον, and similarly μέγαν ποιεῖcθε . . . θυμόν Tyrt. fr. 10, 17. For the sense 'blithe' (not recognized by L. and S.) cf. Hom. *hy. Dem.* 204.

11 ἐc seems to have been converted into εἰc by the original hand, but I know of no reason for thinking it superior. ἦ (ἔ)c, which would have been acceptable, is not what was offered.

ἐc τοῦτο . . . ἥκειν: for the turn of phrase see Kühner–Gerth § 405, 5(*c*).

ἀνολβείη should perhaps be restored to Hes. *Op.* 319 (L. and S. quote ἀνολβέω from **1794** 13 but ἀνολβείοντα is the form there found).

12 ἀνὴρ . . . δειλόc i.q. δειλόc τιc, cf. ἄψυχον ἄνδρα λαμβάνειν cυνέμπορον Trag. adesp. 337, καταπύγων ἀνήρ Aristoph. *Eq.* 639.

ἄρα inferential, not interrogative, as Archil. frr. 86, 2; 89, 5.

13 ἐγὼ αὐτόc: though there is some room between ω and υ, I am not certain that there is enough for α to have been written. εγωπε seems to have been written for ἐγὼ εἶπε in l. 45. For a still bolder synecphonesis cf. Anacr. 72B φιλέω οὔτε.

οἷων ἄπο: cf. *Od.* xix 162 seq. εἰπὲ τεὸν γένος . . . οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ δρυόc ἐccι.

Tellis, the grandfather (Paus. x 28, 3), and Telesikles, founder of Thasos, the father (Suid. in Ἀρχίλοχοc; Steph. Byz. in Θάcοc; et al.) of Archilochus were notables. By his own account (fr. 149) his mother was a slave.

14 seq. Pind. *Pyth.* ii 83 seq. φίλον εἴη φιλεῖν· ποτὶ δ' ἐχθρὸν ἄτ' ἐχθρὸc ἐών κτλ. See on l. 7.

16 μύ]ρμηξ: the proverb (ap. Schol. Aristoph. *Birds* 82, et al.) says ἔνεcτι κἂν μύρμηκι κἂν cέρφωι χολή, i.e. even the worm will turn. For the turn of phrase see Blaydes's collection on Aristoph. *Plut.* 314 (to which many additions from all periods may be made, e.g. Alcm. *Parth.* 59 and 86 seq.; Sim. Amorg. 7, 42; Aesch. fr. 207; Trag. adesp. 135).

Perhaps ἀληθείη πάρα. λόγων ἀλήθεια both 'the truth of something asserted' and 'the fulfilment of something announced' (as e.g. Soph. *Trach.* 173 καὶ τῶνδε ναμέρτεια cυμβαίνει χρόνου τοῦ νῦν παρόντοc, Hdt. iii 64, Eur. *Hipp.* 9).

17 seq. If the main verb is represented by ἐξ.[.....]cαν (say, ἐξεπόρθηcαν), there may have been a relative clause qualifying πόλιν ταύτην in the second half of l. 17 (say, τῆc or τὴν . . . ἐπιcτρέφεαι). I can come to no settled conclusion whether the beginning of l. 18 is more likely to have contained a negative (οὔτοι; in which case there might, further, be an antithesis between 'men' and 'thou', a woman) or a specification of the ἄνδρεc referred to.

In l. 19 I should have guessed τ]ὴν εἵλεc, and I am still inclined to think this probable. But attention must be called to the fact that there is reported to stand in the Parian monument col. iv 12 (GGN phil.-hist. Kl. 1 NF 1, 2) ἀνεῖλεc αἰχμῆι καὶ[. . ., and though the verses there are thought to be trochaic tetrameters, in view of the habit of Greek poets of repeating phrases of their own, I hesitate to import a difference as long as I cannot recognize with certainty the precise structure of these verses. To be sure,]αν by itself does not look to me adequate to fill the presumed space in our manuscript.

If κ.[represents the καί reported in the Parian monument, the second half of l. 19 might be a parenthesis, e.g. καὶ μέγ' ἐξῆρας κλέοc.

20 κείνηc ἄναccε καὶ τυραννίην ἔχε seems very probable, though τ[υραν]ψιην is on the short side and τ[υραν]ειην is not suggested by the traces. Xenophanes, the only early writer from whom the word is quoted, has the third syllable long. The words of this verse could be accepted as the conclusion of a piece, though they do not impose themselves as such. But in that case the end of a paragraphus should still be visible below the first letter. Since there is no sign of it, it is natural to suppose that the piece extended at least one line farther, but l. 21 contains what is prima facie the termination of a masculine adjective. Ll. 17 seqq. themselves seem much more appropriately addressed to a man than to a woman, but then I cannot guess their connexion with l. 8 (addressed to a woman) and all that follows as far as l. 16. The only point that is reasonably certain is that at any rate ll. 22–39 are one piece, distinguished from the foregoing by being narrative characterized for the most part by aorists. The other difficulties are beyond my powers of solution.

22 Perhaps supply φόρτον but there are other possibilities. cὺν νηί is Homeric usage, e.g. *Od.* x 332 ἐκ Τροίηc ἀνιόντα . . . cὺν νηί.

23 Γορτυνίηc may be noun or adjective and refer to Arcadia, Macedonia, or Crete. I suppose the last to be the likeliest.

24 I should expect two letters (vowel and consonant) between π and ε.

25 ἁρπαλίζειν active in Aesch. *Sept.* 243, *Eum.* 983, middle in Hesychius with the interpretation ἀcμένωc δέχομαι (δέξεται ἁρπαλέωc Theogn. 1042).

32 οὐ presumably implies a foregoing ἄν.

33 seqq. I presume: You were neither drowned nor killed in fight.

33 Archil. fr. 9, 3 seq. *κατὰ κῦμα . . . θαλάσσης ἔκλυσεν.*

34 *χερσὶν αἰχμητέων ὕπο*: on the model of Homeric phrases like *δυσμενέων ὑπὸ χερσίν Il.* xix 62, *χερσὶν ὕπο Τρώων* xi 827. At xv 289 seq. is *χερσὶν ὑπ' Αἴαντος θανέειν . . . ἀλλά τις αὖτε θεῶν ἐρρύσατο,* which might have been in Archilochus' mind here.

35 Cf. *ἀπώλεσαν ἀγλαὸν ἥβην IG* i suppl. 446ª, *ἀ. ὤλεσαν ἥ.* Simon. 105 (similarly *ἐρατὴν . . . νεότητα* Simon. 89), *ἀγλαὰν ἥβαν* Bacchyl. v 154.

38 seq. *ἐν ζόφωι . . . ἐς φάος*: *φάος* and other words and expressions containing the idea of 'light' are found in many places used metaphorically for 'rescue' (or 'the rescuer') 'from danger', 'relief from fear', 'joy', 'prosperity', or the like. Pind. *Ol.* v 14 *ὑπ' ἀμαχανίας ἄγων ἐς φάος τόνδε δᾶμον* may be adduced as introducing the metaphor in the same form as in our passage. The use of words meaning 'darkness' for 'danger', 'despair', or the like is much less common. *σκότος*, for instance, when used metaphorically more often connotes 'secrecy', 'guile', or 'obscurity'. I can offer no better parallels to what is found here than Lyr. adesp. *ap.* Stob. *Ecl.* i 6, 13 *σὺ δ' ἀμαχανίας πόρον εἶδες ἐν ἄλγεσιν καὶ λαμπρὸν φάος ἤγαγες ἐν σκότωι,* Aesch. *Pers.* 300 seq. *ἐμοῖς μὲν εἶπας δώμασιν φάος μέγα καὶ λευκὸν ἦμαρ νυκτὸς ἐκ μελαγχίμου, Agam.* 522 *ὑμῖν φῶς ἐν εὐφρόνηι φέρων,* and perhaps Aesch. *Choeph.* 809 seq. reading *ἐλευθερίας φῶς* and *ἐκ δνοφερᾶς.* (At Eur. *H.F.* 563 seq. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's exposition seems to me mistaken. I believe *φῶς* is governed by *δεδορκότες.* 'Breathe again, looking on the light, a welcome exchange for the darkness of Hades.')

κείμενος: cf. Archil. fr. 66, 5 *μὴ . . . καταπεσὼν ὀδύρεο.*

ἐς φ. κατεστάθην: cf. Eur. *Alc.* 362 *ἐς φῶς σὸν καταστῆσαι βίον* (literal not metaphorical) and phrases like *ἐς φόβον κατιστέατο* Hdt. viii 12, 2, *ἀνάγκης ἐς ζυγὸν καθέσταμεν* Eur. *Or.* 1330.

40 This line is too short to be a trimeter like the rest and, since a new piece clearly begins in l. 41, may be supposed to be a heading, but it is to be remarked that the space left above and below it is no greater than that between any other two lines.

41 To judge by the next line this should mean 'Men's tastes are not all alike', cf. Pind. *Isth.* i 47. *φυή* for *φύσις* as at Pind. *Nem.* vii 54 *φυᾶι δ' ἕκαστος διαφέρομεν,* Sim. Amorg. 7, 42.

44 Or *Φαλ.*?

45 I suspect that what should be written is *οὔτις ἄλλ]ος μάντις ἀλλ' ἐγὼ εἶπέ σοι* but the MS. gives no inkling of this articulation of the last words.

ἀλλά instead of *ἤ* (and *ἀλλ' ἤ*) from Homer, e.g. *Od.* viii 312, onwards.

46 *Ζεὺς πατὴρ Ὀλυμπίων*: the order as in Archil. fr. 74, 2 but the Parian monument, iv A 54, is credited with *Ζεὺς Ὀλυμπίω[ν πατήρ.*

47 After Homeric models, e.g. *μάντιν . . . θῆκε βροτῶν ὅχ' ἄριστον Od.* xv 252 seq., *ἐσθλὸν ἐόντα μετ' ἀνδράσιν Il.* xiii 461.

48 *Εὐρύμας* is known from Hesychius (Pherecydes) and, with a different ending to his name, Libanius (*ep.* 389) and others (v. [Plutarch] *prov.* 74 and cf. Plut. *mor.* 483) as a person who tried to make trouble between the Dioscuri. I suppose *οὐ]δ' ἂν Εὐ.* but can make nothing of the word which follows.

In view of the occurrence of *μάντις* in l. 45 I have thought of the possibility that the person meant is the father of *Τήλεμος Εὐρυμίδης, ὃς μαντοσύνηι ἐκέκαστο, Od.* ix 509, but we are nowhere told that this Eurymus was himself a seer, and this hypothesis leaves the last word still incomprehensible.

Fr. 2

. . .
]ηγ[
].[ ] [
]εται
]δέμε
5]ύξεαι·
].φερειν
]ωτέρω·
]ῳνύπο
].γα[.]ον
10].ζεα[.]
]νημένος -
]εξε.υκομα[.]
]..νδεσε..[.'..].[
]γειχαρ[.]ς
15]..[.]δου
]..[
. . .

Fr. 2 2 A stroke starting below the line and slanting up to the right, a dot to the right of its upper end 8 Or perhaps]γ Above the left-hand arm of υ confused ink, perhaps a superscribed δ, but this would not account for all 10 Perhaps]ί 12 ερυ not verifiable 13]..., a dot above the level of the line, below it the end of a stroke descending to the line from the left, followed by traces of two uprights, χ]άριν possible Next but one beyond ε the lower part of an upright 15 Possibly]ωγ

Fr. 3

. . .
]δος
]ς̣με.υ̣
]α..εο
]..εc·
5]
]ε[[ν]]ος
].ελει·
]νέπει
]ος
10].ενος·
].άδη κλ.[
]
].υε·
].ε̣.ν̣ϊδη
15]τουρε̣π̣ε[
]δ̣ικηρίλη.[
]..εκγύ..[
]..[.]ό...[
]..[
. . .

Fr. 3 2 Between ε and υ the top of an upright, θ not suggested 3 Before ε probably κ, possibly χ 4]λε possible 7]., a trace on the line consistent with μ 10]., μ probable, but perhaps δ, λ not excluded 13]., a dot on the line closely followed by an upright, ν not suggested The surface is rubbed, so that I am not sure that ε· was not really ειc 14]., a trace compatible with the upper right-hand side of μ After ε perhaps ω or two letters of which the first has a circular base 15 Of π only traces of the feet and the right-hand end of the bar 16 .[may be no letter but a high stop with casual ink below it 17]., traces compatible with ιc ..[, or ..o[

Fr. 4

(a) (b)

. . . . .
]..[ ]..[..].[
]η[[δ]]αρ..[ ].ιαδεω
].ευ.[ ].νοcκα...
]..τ[ ]ηcγαρειc·
5 . .]ρωπωνετι
].αν.ϊδη
]ειδο̣η̣ι̣δυγέα[
]θαυμ̣α̣cτόcειc

The level of (a) relatively to (b) is fixed by the cross-fibres. I am uncertain of the interval between them, but suspect that no complete letter is missing in ll. 2–4

1(a) On the line the lower left-hand arc of a circle, followed perhaps by the loop and lower part of the tail of α (b)]..[, a dot off the line followed by the tail of ρ, φ, or ψ].[, the base of a circle, but perhaps two letters represented 2 If a letter was written above the cancelled δ, it would no longer be visible ..[, a central dot, apparently the right-hand tip of a cross-stroke as of ε or θ, followed by what now looks like a small λ, which may represent the start of μ]., a curved stroke descending from left and ligatured to ι; I believe part of μ not α 3(a)]., perhaps the overhang of c, but there is a trace of interlinear ink, not accounted for, above it .[, perhaps the opposite ends of the base of δ, but two letters may be represented (b)]., the lower end of a stroke descending from left, e.g. α, μ 4]..., the second letter is represented by the lower part of an upright, descending below the line, above and to right of which is a trace of ink. If ρ, probably preceded by α; if ι surmounted by the lower end of a grave, there is no clue to the preceding letter 6]., a stroke descending from left, λ and perhaps δ, μ possible Before ί the trace of the foot of an upright; τ suitable

2 At the end apparently a patronymic, -άδεω, but -μιάδεω with ι prima facie short presents difficulties. Synizesis, -ια-, I believe to be very improbable. A short syllable before μ will have to be postulated or a long ι after it. (If nothing is missing between (a) and (b), Ἀρθμιάδεω could be recognized. See Plut. *Lycurg.* 5 for a person of this name, contemporary with Lycurgus. But I see nothing gained by this.)

4]ηc γάρ εἰc: a favourite type of verse-end, cf. **2318** fr. 5, 5]ειc γάρ εἰc, **2321**(Anacreon) fr. 2, 1]λη γάρ εἰc (perhaps = Anacr. fr. 57), the accentuation (ἔγκλιcιc) as in the manuscripts, Archil. fr. 107.

5 ἀνθ]ρώπων.

6 Barring error this must be the vocative of a patronymic, but if ι has been omitted, alternatives present themselves.

7 ὅπῃι δύνεαι: 2nd pers. sing. pres. indic., or, if ὅπῃι stands for ὅπῃι ἄν, subjunct., of δύναμαι, neither form, I believe, hitherto found in an Ionic text. But ἐξεπίcτεαι Hdt. vii 104, 135.

8 For the ἔγκλιcιc see Hdn. i 533 and cf. the examples in l. 4 n. above.

2311. Archilochus, Iambic Trimeters?

There are reasonably good grounds for conjecturing that the following scraps are to be attributed to Archilochus. They contain morphological, lexical, and metrical characteristics to be expected in Ionic verse and probably a proper name which is specifically Archilochian. There are also two partial coincidences with quotations from Archilochus, the first of which has a fair chance of not being illusory. No more than this can usefully be said.

The text is written in an ugly hand which shares some features with **2310** and I should assign it to about the same date. There is nothing to show that the lection signs and other additions are not by the writer of the text.

Fr. 1(*a*)

. . .

]...[]...[

δα̣...μενη[

μα̣..εκ̣.ω̣[

εξης̣[.]..[

5 τροφο̣ς̣κ̣...[

καις̣τ̣ῃθος̣[

ωγλα̣...[

α̣.[.]ν̣.ς̣ς̣.[

ις̣.[

10 π..[

ομο̣.[

λα̣....[

× λα̣...[

τῖνε̣.[

15 ερχ̣[..]θ[

τῃ.[

× προ.[ ].[

εβουλο̣μ̣ην̣[

× ..αγγε̣λου[

20 ψ̣ι̣ηςιν̣[

φοι̣ταν·ε̣π̣[

πασαι̣.ε̣.[

— ερδειν·α̣τ̣[

— φαιν̣[.].ω̣[

25 — ακάτι̣α̣·κ̣αιβ̣[

(καιπο̣λλο̣ς̣ελ̣[

— πολλωνάϊ̣[

[ ]ϋ..ονῃυ.[

[ ].[.].π̣απ̣[

30 .εσθεδ̣[

πρόσε[

εγωμ̣[

. . .

Fr. 2

. . .

]..α̣νκ̣α̣.[

].κᾶλονδη[

].φρας[[ς̣]]αν̣[

]...και[

5].[ ].κλ..[

. . .

Fr. 1(*b*)

. . .

] .[.]..[

] πινε[

] οτιφρον[

] γυνη.[

5]εχθιστ.[

] [ ]καιπατ[

] φιλητ..[

] ούτῶ[

] επ[

. . .

Fr. 1(*a*) To the left of the column there is a considerable tract of blank papyrus, but there is no sign of reinforcement, so that I am doubtful whether this was the beginning of a roll. The surface is badly rubbed in places and many of the fibres are distorted; a good deal of allowance must be made for illusion

I am reasonably confident that fr. 1(*b*) contains the continuation of the same column, but I can make no guess at the interval between the two

2 ..., an upright slightly concave to α (of which it seems to have touched the tail), a thicker upright turning over to left at the top and with a cross-stroke going from the top to right, traces compatible with a triangular letter, two dots one above the other suggesting the upper part of an upright. Various combinations are open, but I have found no probable word or words 3 After α prima facie a small π, but I cannot rule out γγ or ιτ Before ε a gap with a trace, level with the tops of the letters, near its left-hand edge; if this was a narrow letter, .[.]ε should be written 4 ..[, the first letter had a cross-stroke, e.g. γ, π, τ, the second a right-hand stroke descending from left to right, e.g. α, λ 5 ς does not account for a dot above the left-hand side of its top, but I doubt whether ι· or υ are better substitutes After κ what now looks like a small λ but I believe to be α with a much rubbed loop; this letter perhaps followed by τ and this by the curly lower end of a stroke descending below the line 6 Archil. fr. 30? 7 ...[, the lower end of an upright followed by two traces, a considerable distance apart, level with the tops of the letters; ἀυκ[acceptable but not verifiable 8 After α the upper part of an upright Below ᾽ presumably υ, though the tips of the arms are not so wide apart as in other specimens Of ςς only the tops; ε might be substituted for the second .[, the tip of an upright with a trace on the right-hand side 9 .[, the start of a stroke on the line 10 ..[, a dot on the line followed by the foot of an upright hooked to right 11 .[, perhaps φ 12 Perhaps βεμ[, though a dot between β and ε is then not accounted for 13 ...[, I should take the last letter to be μ, represented by its left-hand side, but I cannot interpret the signs which precede; after α is a dot, level with the tops of the letters, above a horizontal stroke on or slightly below the line, and the upper parts of two strokes which appear to curve towards one another in their lower parts. I cannot recognize any form of λαβεῖν 14 .[, very faint traces compatible with the lower left-hand arc of a circle 16 .[, the apex of a triangle followed by an upright slightly concave to it; two letters may be represented 19 The fibres at the beginning are very much damaged and disturbed. Over the first letter there is some ink part of which may represent a grave accent, but there is something against each of ἑ, ἰ, ὑ; the second letter seems to be necessarily either π or τ 20 There is no ink to represent the part of ψ above the cross-stroke, but the tail descends too far for τ to be acceptable 21 Of ςπ only the bases, but suggested by the spacing 22 δε, λε possible .[, the left-hand end of a cross-stroke as of π or τ 24]., the foot of an upright 28 Between ϋ and ο only scattered traces .[, a dot in the middle position, apparently rather low for

the cross-stroke of θ 30 Before εc the tip of an upright. The rest of the beginning of the line has been scoured off

Fr. 1(*b*) 4 .[, the left-hand end of a cross-stroke as of τ 5 .[, prima facie ε rather than ο 7 ..[, traces compatible with αν and so perhaps Archil. fr. 46

Fr. 2 1 .[, the lower part of an upright 3]., a cross-stroke as of γ 4]., the lower end of a stroke hooked to right descending below the line 5]., the top of ε or c ..[, perhaps the tips of the arms of a single υ

Fr. 1(*a*) 5 seq. There may be recognizable here the quotation from Archilochus which appears in Athenaeus 688c as

ἐcμυριcμένας κόμας
καὶ cτῆθος, ὡς ἂν καὶ γέρων ἠράccατο

I do not see how it is to be accommodated to the context, but it is to be said that perhaps the ending of ἐcμυριcμένας is mistaken. I suppose κόμας καὶ cτῆθος to be internal accusatives, 'scented as to hair and breast', and if this is so, we have no guarantee of the case or number of the participle. It might agree with whatever form of τροφός stands at the beginning of l. 5. (I suspect the correct spelling to be ἐcμυριχμέν-, as in Lesbian, and similarly ἔρχμαcιν in fr. 70, 3 for ἐρύμαcιν of the manuscripts of [Plat.] *Eryxias* at 397e.)

7 ὦ Γλαῦκε seems probable. Glaucus (son of Leptines, Archil. fr. 70) is several times addressed by Archilochus (frr. 14, 54, 70).

The presence of ὦ is remarkable since it is Archilochus' usage not to prefix it to vocatives of simple address. It cannot be made out whether there is some special reason for its appearance in this place. There are other apparent exceptions to the general rule, e.g. ὦ Κηρυκίδη, fr. 89.

19 A compound of -αγγελος seems to be indicated. I cannot divine it.

20 ψιηcιν is a sufficiently peculiar sequence of letters to be expected to be unambiguous, but in fact it is susceptible of divers explanations based on Hesychian glosses, none verifiable.

23–27 The objection to the bracketed line is presumably different from that to the obelized which enclose it.

Fr. 1(*b*) 3 ὅτι φρον[: cf. Sim. Amorg. 2 εἴ τι φρον., **2313** fr. 8(*b*) 3]θιφρονέει[?

7 Eustath. *Od.* 1889, 1 has φιλήτου . . . χρῆcις . . . παρὰ Ἀρχιλόχωι (fr. 46) ἐν τῶι· φιλήται νύκτωρ περὶ πόλιν πολευμένωι, ἤγουν κλέπτηι νυκτιλόχωι. This is variously corrected but φιληται νύκτωρ seems secure. It may have occurred here but, even if rightly read, φιληταν[can be otherwise articulated and ἐχθιcτ- in l. 5 perhaps makes φίλη rather more probable than φίλη in this place.

8 οὔτ' ὦ[ν.

Fr. 2 3 Apparently ε]γφρacαν[. The single c metrically guaranteed at Solon, 34, 1, **2312** fr. 14, 6, in the aorist of φράζω.

2312. Archilochus, Iambic Trimeters

The attribution of the following scraps to Archilochus is based on the presumptive identification of fr. 6, 8 and fr. 14, 3 with the known quotations, Archil. frr. 143 and 42, and of the name Lycambes in fr. 17, 1 (and perhaps in two other places, fr. 4, 8 and fr. 9, 2). Wherever enough of the verse survives to allow of an opinion, it must be that iambic trimeters are represented, except for fr. 24, which is not prima facie reconcilable with this view and suggests the possibility that elsewhere more than one type of metre may be represented.[1] It may be worth while, in this connexion, calling attention to the fact that the spacing of the lines is not uniform—for instance, the first nine lines of fr. 5(*a*) occupy the same amount of space as the first eight of fr. 4(*a*)—but I do not think there can be any significance in this, since these two are certainly from the same roll and the same 'sheet' of it.

About the text, of which nothing like a complete verse has been preserved, I have nothing to say except that unattested words occur at frr. 4, 5; 14, 10.

The hand is a very finely executed example of the common angular type, comparable to **655**, **1012**, **1611**, the Geneva Antiphon, &c., and assignable to the late second century or first half of the third. The lection signs and one or two variants are due, as well as I can judge, to the writer of the text.

[1] Or, for that matter, more than one author. This uncertainty, which must always exist when small scraps of papyrus are assembled simply on the strength of the identity of the writing they contain, should never be left out of calculation, but I do not know what action can be taken to neutralize it, except by confining argument to pieces large enough to be otherwise identifiable.

Fr. 1

. . .
]δῆμα[
]ξεις·αν[
]φινυνε.[
].νοαιφε.[
5]νοισιτερ[
].ιῶνδ'ερε.[
]δανς.[
]νελα[
. . .

Fr. 2

. .
]ειυζ[
]κου[.]ἐ[
. .

Fr. 3

. .
].[
]νυ..[
]ϲεχθο.[
]νυν.[
. .

Fr. 4(*a*)

. . . . .
]μενῆλη[
]δεμενδυ[
]δεγωγεραιτ[
].ν.[.].εδεξαμην[
5]αψχένα·ἠδεδαζ[
].δεδηπ[.].ηϲεται· [
]αλλοτ'ὦκαχ[.....]. — [
].βα·μηδεμε[|]τουν[Fr. 4 (*b*)
]ειε·λωβη.[|]ρπυθ[
10]κακ[.].φαι[
].λυρηνπ[
]οϲεϲτιφιλ[
]θα·τηνδ[
]υϲεβουλο[
]δεπαρθε[
15]χεκαιμ[
].μοϲω.[
]χ.ἑ[
. . . . .

Fr. 5(*b*)

. .
]ϲπο[
]θαπ[
]με.[
]..[
. .

Fr. 5(*c*)

. .
]λα[.].φ[
]μαχλ[
].πατ[
]μοιτ[
5]ειλ[
. .

Fr. 5(*a*)

].αφροϲα.[
].ταιπαϲα·φ.[
].γριουϲκι[
]ϲαϲαμαιν[
5]κεωϲαγ.[
]υνοιτη[
].αδεω.ατ.[
].αντηδηέιδ[
]ραφειϲα·τ.[
. . .

Fr. 6(*a*)

. . .
].ινε..[
]διατελε[
].εδηϊων[
].καποτρ[
. .

Fr. 6 (*b*)

5]εχν|ηνπαϲ.[
]ρφρύκ[ ]..[
]νεμεωντρ[
]υπαυληση[
. . .

Fr. 7

. .
]θυμι.[
]προϲω[
]...[
. .

Fr. 8

. .
·η·
]μεν·
].ιοϲ
].[
]αμαι
]ϲ 5
]ϲ
. .

Fr. 8A

. .
].ϲ·ουτ[
]ἐλη[
. .

Frr. 1–8 This group of fragments is shown by the possession of common sets of cross-fibres to have come from one and the same 'sheet' of the roll.

The levels of frr. 1–3 relatively to each other and to fr. 4(*a*) and of fr. 4(*b*) to fr. 4(*a*) are fixed as shown by the simultaneous correspondence of common sets of cross-fibres and lines of writing.

The levels of frr. 5(*a*)–(*c*) relatively to each other and of frr. 6(*a*)–8 relatively to each other are similarly fixed as shown. But of the second and third groups fibres and lines cannot be so laid as to correspond simultaneously with fibres and lines of the first, and the levels as shown of frr. 5(*a*)–(*c*) relatively to the upper part of fr. 4(*a*) and of frr. 6(*a*)–8 relatively to the lower may therefore be a little out.[1]

Fr. 8 contains in its lower part a 'joint' at which identified fibres stop and a new set begins. This fragment therefore stood farthest of all to the right. I see no other external evidence about the order in which any of the remaining fragments occurred, but a strong similarity between the back of the projection at the lower right-hand corner of fr. 5(*a*) and the back of the left-hand side of fr. 8 leads me to suppose that these two may have contained the right-hand part of the same column. Further, I should judge that the resemblance between fr. 7 and the relevant (lower) part of fr. 8 made

[1] I may add that, without taking account of the fibres, the lines of fr. 5(*a*) cannot be laid so as to correspond with the lines of fr. 4(*a*).

it probable that this pair was not far apart and certainly not on opposite sides of fr. 6, but I can trace no vertical fibres down from fr. 5(*a*) into fr. 7.

On a possible location of fr. 4(*b*) I touch in the commentary on fr. 4(*a*), 8 seq.

There is no external evidence about the intervals between any of the fragments except frr. 6(*a*), (*b*), which are shown by the vertical fibres of their backs to stand in the proximity shown, without quite touching in l. 5.

Addendum. See app. crit. on fr. 27.

Fr. 1 3 .[, two dots, one above the other, presumably representing an upright 4].*ι*, an upright, *π* not verifiable .[, part of an upright 6].*ι*, a small loop lower than the tops of the letters, not *ο* or *ρ*, perhaps the right-hand side of *φ* .[, the left-hand end of a cross-stroke level with the tops of the letters 7 .[, *ε* or *η* suggested

Fr. 3 1 The foot of an upright 2 ..[, a dot on the line followed at an interval by the foot of an upright; the spacing would suit *κτ* but .[.].[is an alternative possibility of representation 3 .[, a headless upright 4 .[, against the second upright of *ν* a trace suggesting the left-hand end of a cross-stroke as of *τ*

Fr. 4(*a*) 2 Above the left-hand side of]*δ* interlinear ink suggesting *ι* in the hand of the text 4 .[, apparently an upright].*ε*, the upper right-hand arc of a small circle, perhaps *ρ* 6].*δ*, slight traces compatible with *ν*].*η*, an upright descending below the line 8].*ι*, a dot level with the tops of the letters; *μ* possible but not particularly suggested *μ*[, perhaps *ν* not ruled out 9 .[, a dot well below the line, presumably the end of an upright 10 A single broad letter would fill the room between *κ* and *φ* 11].*ι*, a small arc on the line, possibly *ν* 17].*ι*, a dot compatible with the tip of the upper right-hand arm of *κ*, *χ*, *υ* .[, *κ*, *μ*, or *ν* 18]*χ* might be *υ*; it is followed by the upper left-hand arc of a small circle, perhaps *ε* or *c*

Fr. 5(*a*) 1].*ι*, the right-hand end of a cross-stroke as of *γ*, *τ* .[, *μ* probable but *ν* not ruled out 2].*ι*, traces suiting the extreme ends of the branches of *κ* .[, the foot of an upright 7].*ι*, the right-hand end of a cross-stroke as of *γ*, *τ* Before *ατ* the upper part of an upright, after *ατ* the extreme lower tip of a stroke descending below the line 8].*ι*, an upright 9 .[, the upper end of a thick stroke descending to right, with ink above to left; perhaps *ἀ*

(*b*) 2 For *π*[perhaps *γ* 3 .[, *μ* probable, but *ν* perhaps not ruled out 4 A cross-stroke touching the upper part of an upright; not *η*

(*c*) 1].*ι*, an upright; I suppose *ι* preceded by a narrow letter 3].*ι*, the upper part of an upright. Ll. 3–5 were published as **1611** fr. 68

Fr. 6 1].*ι*, the right-hand end of a cross-bar touching *ι* just below the top ..[, the foot of an upright descending slightly below the line, followed by a dot on the line 3].*ι*, the right-hand end of a cross-stroke touching the top of *ε* 4].*ι*, a trace compatible with the tip of the right-hand branch of *υ* 5 .[, *α* likely but *λ* not ruled out 6]*ρ* might just possibly be *ο* *ρ*, a trace on the right-hand side of the stem not accounted for; perhaps the letter was struck through]..[, the right-hand end of a cross-stroke touching the top arc of a circle; above the latter a trace of ink which may represent an acute 8 Archil. fr. 123

Fr. 7 1 .[, traces of an upright 2 *ρ* retouched 3 A small loop as of *β* or *ρ*, followed by what might be *ο* or the upper part of *ε* and this by the top of an upright. There may be a trace farther to right representing still another letter

Fr. 8 2].*ι*, the right-hand end of a cross-stroke touching *ι* below the top

Fr. 8A may well come from the neighbourhood of frr. 6(*a*), (*b*), but I cannot attach it or identify any of the fibres.

Fr. 9

. . .
].ημαλ.[
]ρωνλυκ[
].cηιπ[
]νεοι[
5].αιδα[
]cμακα[
]αυτατεκ[
]φευρο[
]ν.[
10]υρ.λ[
].αικ[
].[..]ˇ[
. . .

Fr. 10

. . .
].[
].ίμεμ[
].μελ.[
]..[
. . .

Fr. 11

. . .
].υτ.[
]..ο.[
]εμ[
]χρο[
5]κ[
. . .

Fr. 12

. . .
]cα.[
]ϙκελη[
]υφοc[
].άν[
5].ρο[
. . .

Frr. 9 and 10 are fixed by cross-fibres at approximately the level shown relatively to one another. There is no external evidence about their interval or order and as fibres and lines of writing do not simultaneously correspond they may belong to different columns, but, since the discrepancy is small, this is not a certain inference. Fr. 11 resembles fr. 9 both front and back, the front of fr. 12 resembles the lower part of the front of fr. 9, but the appearance of their backs is quite different. I am not sure that fr. 26 should not be assigned to the same neighbourhood as fr. 12

Fr. 9 1 .[, an upright 3].*ι*, traces on a single fibre, perhaps *α*, but this does not account for all the ink 5].*ι*, a dot level with the tops of the letters 9 .[, an upright 10 *υ* represented only by the upper end of the right-hand branch; though slightly more curved than usual not, I think, *ε* Between *ρ* and *λ* a dot level with the tops of the letters 11].*ι*, an upright; I think *ν* probable

Fr. 10 2].*ι*, perhaps the upper end of the upper branch of *κ* 3].*ι*, a trace with ink above that does not much suggest an acute, though it may be the upper end of one .[, the top left-hand arc of a small circle 4].*ι*, I think *ε* cancelled by a transverse stroke and superscribed dot .[, perhaps parts of an upright

Fr. 11 1].*ι*, the tail of *α* or *λ* 2 Before *ο* I should read *α*, but I cannot rule out *λ* which might more naturally be expected .[, a dot level with the tops of the letters; I am not sure whether there is more ink

Fr. 12 1 .[, traces suggesting the lower left-hand part of *κ*, *μ*, or *ν*, but as this would be unusually distant from the preceding letter, perhaps *α*[·].[should be written 3 Of *υ* only the upper end of the right-hand branch 5].*ι*, the upper end of the right-hand branch of *υ* or the upper branch of *κ*

Fr. 13

]ιητρ[

. .

Fr. 14

]τομηι [
]λησομαι·.[
]τουφυτοῦ [
]δοκεω· [
]κακα· [
]πίφρασαι· [
]ησομαι· [
]ουλινου [
]τα.η [
]νμενοινιω[
].ϲιϲιω[
].....ϵ.[

. . .

Fr. 15(*a*)

. . .
].[
]αψει[
]..ι..τη[
].ιϲοιτ[
]δανποτ[
].τωπεριϲ[
].ωδεχωρ.[
].[.]ϲιϲιν [

Fr. 15(*b*) . . .
].[
].να[
]μηχο[
].ϵλα[

. . .

Fr. 13–14 The cross-fibres fix the level of fr. 13 relatively to fr. 14 in such a way that the writing in the first, which is the first verse of a column, is abreast of the second verse in the second. In spite of the apparent congruity of the contents, it is hard to believe that the fibres can have dipped within the breadth of one column enough to make it possible for fr. 13 to have stood level with l. 1 of fr. 14, on its left. It must also be remarked that the letters of fr. 13 appear to be slightly larger

Fr. 14 2 .[, at mid-letter the start of a stroke rising to right 3 Archil. fr. 42 9 Between α and η the left-hand arc of a circle, perhaps θ likeliest 11].., a cross-stroke level with the tops of the letters 12]., apparently the tail of α or λ Before ϵ possibly the top of ϲ

Frr.. 15(*a*), (*b*). The fibres of the back make it clear that these two were vertically one above the other. I am fairly sure that (*b*) stood below (*a*), at what interval I see nothing to show

Fr. 15(*a*) 1 The tail of υ or φ 3]..., the top of a small circle followed by α or less probably λ Between ι and τ the upper left-hand arc of a small circle followed by a dot on the line; perhaps only one letter 4]., the foot of a stroke slightly hooked to right; apparently too low for the base of ϵ 6]., the upper end of a stroke rising from left to touch the left-hand end of the cross-stroke of τ, perhaps υ 7]., γ or less probably τ .[, I think ι, but cannot rule out other letters beginning with an upright 8]., the upper end of a stroke descending to right, e.g. α, δ, λ, υ, χ One would expect to see part of a letter written after ν, but I do not think ρ can be taken as the loop of ρ

Fr. 15(*b*) 1 The foot of an upright 2]., the foot of an upright 4]., perhaps the overhang of ϵ or ϲ

Fr. 16

]νον[
]μ.[
].αιφρο[
]νουϲϵϲ[
]αιμων[
].απηχ[
]ιηρα[
]λβιοϲ[
]..[

. . .

Fr. 17

]λυκαμμ[
]ντιδ[
]ωρϲυ[
]πυ[

. .

Fr. 16 2 .[, perhaps the back of ϵ 6]., prima facie the tail of λ 9]., ϵ probable, ϲ perhaps not ruled out

Fr. 18

].[.]ϲτ.[
]άδα....[
]ιϵν· [

. . .

Fr. 18 1]., an upright .[, an upright 2 After α the lower ends of three progressively longer uprights, e.g. ιτρ .[, a dot on the line 3 The stop is on a single fibre. This may be the end of the verse

Fr. 19

. . .
]η[
]λερημ[
]αμειψομ[
]αμφιδῳ[
]μεν[
]τϵχη[
]η[

. . .

Fr. 19 3 μ[, perhaps ν possible 4 Of φ only the left-hand stroke 6 η[, perhaps ρ an alternative

Fr. 20

. .
]μαλθ[
].ραδ[

. .

Fr. 20 2]., perhaps γ or τ but too much rubbed to verify

Fr. 21

. .
].αυ[
]φω.[

. .

Fr. 21 1]., λ or perhaps δ 2 .[, the left-hand apex of μ or ν

Fr. 22

. .
]αιγλη[
]κα[

. .

Fr. 23

. . .
μ[
φοιτ[
ἄτ[
.ξϵ[

. . .

Fr. 24

] ήϊατ[
] ϊθα.[
] ῆ.[

. . .

Fr. 24 In the same hand as the rest but not prima facie iambic trimeters
2 .[, ink compatible with the left-hand side of γ

Fr. 25

. . .
] × ..[
] ϵβ.[
]× ιθα[

. . .

Fr. 26

. .
].c.[
]χα[
].κ.[
].ι.[
. .

Fr. 26 1]., an upright, ι probable 3]., the right-hand stroke of α or λ .[, on the line the start of a stroke rising to right, e.g. α, λ 4]., the apex of a triangular letter .[, the left-hand apex of μ or ν

Fr. 27

. .
].cτ[
]τρ.[
]δα[
]ρτα[
. .

Fr. 27 Too late to give it its proper place I see that this fragment is fixed by cross-fibres abreast of fr. 5(*a*), 2–5. I am reasonably sure that it stood to left of fr. 5(*a*) and is to be attached to fr. 5(*c*) above its right-hand side, thus:]ρτα[
]λα[.].φ[

1]., on the line the end of a stroke descending from left 2 .[, the upper left-hand arc of a circle, e.g. θ, c

Fr. 1 4 Though the remnant of the first letter is close to the break, I should expect to see some trace of the cross-stroke of π. But if ι is read, I can make no plausible guess at the word.

6]φιῶν seems the only interpretation of the ink. I can make no apt suggestion for its completion, whether as noun or verb.

Fr. 4(*a*) There may be references to be recognized to Lycambes and his two daughters (Λυκά]μβα l. 8, δυ[ο l. 2, γεραιτ[έρη l. 3, παρθε[ν- l. 15).

1 Some form of ἥλιξ or ἡλίκος seems a better guess than of ἥλιος, but ἡ λί[is also possible.

2 Not all elisions are marked, so that ἐνδυ[is a theoretically possible articulation.

3 γεραιτ[έρη or some other case;) (Λυκάμβεω παῖδα τὴν ὑπερτέρην, Archil. fr. 28, where ὑπερτέρην is explained as νεωτέραν.

5 The *scriptio plena* is noteworthy in a manuscript of this date.

I cannot explain the end. δαξ- cannot be read, so that the Ionic future of δάκνω (preserved in two or three passages of Hippocrates) is ruled out, even if it were otherwise acceptable. No known Greek words begin with δαζ-, εδαζ-, or δεδαζ-. ἥδε is theoretically possible (ἥcε from ἥδω is quoted from Anacreon, fr. 148) and of the few suitable words beginning with αζ ἄζυγα is quoted from Archilochus, fr. 157.

7 seq. ἄλλοτ', ὦ καχ[.... Λυκάμ]βα is a reasonable guess, but it is to be said that ὦ is unusual in Archilochus with vocatives in simple addresses (though there are parallels), that the dash at the end of l. 7, which cannot be read as an elongation of the cross-stroke of ε, is not accounted for, that a suitable adjective beginning with καχ- is not easy to provide, and that μ of Λυκάμβα is not verifiable. But the Homeric ὦκα is hardly to be thought of.

8 seq. If the detached fragment 4(*b*) belongs to this column, it can hardly be located anywhere but to the right of these two verses, in which case its maximum interval is limited, by the projecting piece of 4(*a*) above, to a space capable in l. 8 of containing two whole letters. λωβητ[ό]ν and λωβητ[ή]ν look like the minimum and maximum supplements in l. 9 and I do not think enough room could be obtained for three letters in the corresponding part of the previous line, even by the substitution of ρ[for μ[.

I ought to say that I cannot trace any of the vertical fibres of the back of 4(*a*) 4 seqq. into the back of 4(*b*), but I do not think that this is in this instance a strong objection. The relevant part of 4(*a*) was separated from the rest and has clearly undergone considerable change.

12 φιλ[η- as well as φιλ[τ- is to be kept in mind.

Fr. 5 1 If τάφρος ἀμ[, perhaps like Archil. fr. 40 ἕρκος ἀμφιδέδρομεν, but ἀφρὸς ἀμ[φι is another

possibility, suggested by Archil. fr. 139 (in schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 1257, q.v.), and I am not sure of the reading of μ[.

7].αδεω looks as if it might be a patronymic. We are told that Lycambes was Δωτάδης (Hesych. in v.). In case πατρ[ός, which suits the traces, is thought of for the following word, it should be said that both πᾰτρός || and πατρὸς | ⏑ ⏓ || are inconsistent with what is known of the usage of Archilochus.

8 Since the accent precludes any form here admissible of ἀείδω, some person of the pluperfect of οἶδα must be recognized. πάντα δ' ἠείδεε is a reasonable guess, cf. **2316**, 4.

9 (-)τ]ραφεῖcα.

Frr. 5(*b*), (*c*) These cannot be joined to give]θ αγλα[ο]ι φ[,]με μαχλ[in (*b*) 2–(*c*) 1, (*b*) 3–(*c*) 2.

Fr. 6 1 γίνετα[ι apparently possible.

2 Besides the obvious διὰ τέλε[ος, διατελέ[ειν or some form of it, there are other more distant possibilities.

4 ο]ὐκ ἀποτρ[

5 τ]έχνην πᾶca[ν.

7 ἐμεωυτοῦ may be taken as likeliest, though the improper spellings ἐμεωυτόν, -τῶι are recorded.

8 Archil. fr. 123 is quoted as ἄιδων ὑπ' αὐλητῆρος (Schol. *Il.* xviii 492; schol. Aristoph. *Birds* 1426). The form of the first word is unacceptable, but no light is thrown by this manuscript.

Frr. 7, 8 The possibility of combining 7, 1 with 8, 5 as]θυμης, say προ]θυμής, cannot be checked. The hypothesis appears to lead to the necessity of finding a combination of five letters making no more than one short syllable to insert between προcω[and]ε in the next line. This is not impossible, but it does not appear to me very likely.

Fr. 8 1 I should not judge it very attractive to suppose that the writing of η over ε denoted a variant between 1st pers. plur. act. and 1st pers. sing. mid. (or a correction of one to the other). Perhaps, therefore, the variant or correction relates to the particle which is μήν in Attic and μέν in Ionic.

Fr. 9 2 Lycambes again?

Frr. 13, 14 1 seqq. If 14, 3 is Archil. fr. 42, the sense may have been: I will not use surgery, since I know of another effectual cure for a growth of this sort.

6 ἐ]πίφρασαι 'devise, take note'. Since the other verbs are in the first person, the imperative perhaps implies a vocative in the lost part of the verse.

10 However articulated μενοινιω[must contain a hitherto unrecorded word.

11 ἐ]πειcίω[ι?

Fr. 17 1 Λυκάμ[β-.

Fr. 24 1 If these are trimeters, ἦια, 'provisions' or 'bean-straw'?, seems unavoidable but will hardly be eagerly embraced. The ι, though lengthened in Homer, is properly short, as appears from the form ἧια.

2313. Archilochus, Trochaic Tetrameters

In the introduction to **1619** the editors write, speaking of a roll containing the third book of Herodotus, 'several of the still more fragmentary texts accompanying the Herodotus were written in hands so similar that small pieces of the various texts can hardly be distinguished, and two of these manuscripts, Homer, *N–Ξ*, and a tragedy(?) seem to have been actually written by the scribe of the Herodotus'. A closer examination enables me to amplify this account to the following effect. There are portions not only of Herodotus Book III (of which I have identified more than another two dozen fragments) and *Iliad* xiii and xiv, but also of Herodotus Books II, IV, and VII as well as some other unidentified prose, and what was doubtfully described as a tragedy reveals itself as trochaic tetrameters of Archilochus. These last I have sorted out to the best of my ability, though it is probable that I have made errors both of exclusion and inclusion in the case of the smaller scraps, and publish here. The identification of the authorship depends on the partial coincidence of one fragment with a quotation in Stobaeus and of two others with quotations in the Parian monument (Par.), for which I refer to *Göttingische Gelehrte Nachrichten*, phil.-hist. Kl. i, N.F. i 2. There is also a partial coincidence with P. Lond. 487 B which had been attributed conjecturally to Archilochus by Blass. But the remains are much too discontinuous to make the establishment of the authorship of any practical value for the understanding of the text.

To the palaeographical account of the hand of the Herodotus given in the introduction to **1619** I have only to add that the present manuscript contains a few interlinear or marginal additions apparently made by the original copyist and that the lection signs likewise appear to proceed mostly from the same source, though one or two are in a different ink and due to a different pen or pens.

Fr. 1(*a*)

]ὧνθα[...]ζετω· .[	ἀνδράσιν· μηδ' εἷς ἔθ' ὑμέων εἰσορ]έων θα[υμα]ζέτω,
].ψων[...]νὸμον	μηδ'†εἶνα†δελφῖσι θῆρες ἀνταμ]είψων[ται] νομόν
]ακυμ̣ατα	ἐνάλιον καί σφιν θαλάσσης ἠχέεντ]α κύματα
].εινορος·	φίλτερ' ἠπείρου γένηται, τοῖσι δ'†ἠδὺ†].εν ὄρος.
5]χηνακτιδης	]χηνακτίδης
]ητουπαῖς[	]ήτου πάις
]τυθηγαμω.[	]τύθη γάμω.[
]....νε..[	]...γνε..
]νεειν·	]νέειν
10]	]
]δρασιν·	ἀν]δράσιν
].[].[]	].[].[]

Fr. 1(*b*)

]. ηνε[

Fr. 1(*a*) 1–4 Archil. fr. 74, 6–9 1 In the mg. apparently a v.l. 4]., the upper part of an upright more than the ordinary distance from ε; η, ι, or ν 7 .[, ι or ν 8 For ρ perhaps .ι preferable The last dot may represent ω or αι, among other possibilities 12 Below αε the top of φ or ψ

Fr. 1(*b*) The appearance suggests a position in the neighbourhood of fr. 1(*a*)
]., parts of what appears to be a slightly curved stroke, e.g. ι

From Aristotle, *Rhet.* iii 17 (1418ᵇ28) we know that this piece had the form of an attack by a father on his daughter.

1 ορ]ῶν: similarly at **2321** fr. 4, 2 ορω has had ε inserted above the line. See the schol. on Callim. *Ἴαμβ.* fr. 191, 30 Pf. (i 165) and add Smyth, *Ionic dial.* § 688 to Pfeiffer's note.

2 δελφῖσι θῆρες This combination of generic and specific is displeasing. What would be expected is shown by *Anth. Pal.* v 18 βοσκήσει δελφῖνας ὁ δενδροκόμης Ἐρύμανθος καὶ πολιὸν πόντου κῦμα θοὰς ἐλάφους.

-ψωνται. -ψον- might have been expected, see Bechtel, *Gr. Dial.* iii p. 217, but note that Alcaeus also has -ξώμεθα (*Ἀμ.* **6**, 7) although -σομεν (*Ἀμ.* **22**, 11; **48**, 10; **2295**, fr. 28, 20, ? future).

4 ἠδὺ ἦν Stob. I believed the emendation ὑλέειν (Bergk, -λή-) likely, cf. δενδροκόμης above, but this cannot be read, and though I cannot say υλ]ηειν is impossible I should prefer to suppose that]νειν was written. But neither ἦι δύνειν nor ἠδὺ νεῖν is attractive, though a reading substantially the same as the first, ἦι δύειν, was proposed by A. B. Cook (*C.R.* 1894, p. 147).

5 Ἀρ]χηνακτίδης? Ἀρχῆναξ, a name in Thasos, *IG* xii (8) 280, 17. See Bechtel, *Gr. Dial.* iii 59.

8].μαινετω (or -ται) does not appear to be ruled out, but α would be anomalously made.

Addendum. A scrap has been attached which necessitates giving all the lines a number higher by one. Read now: 1 γίνε]τα[, 2 θαυμαζέτω, 3 ἀνταμ]είψωνται.

Fr. 2

]δ[...]ναι.[ ]δ' [Ἀθη]ναίη[
]τυπο.διος [ἐρικ]τύπου Διός
]πολυκλαυτο[ ]πολυκλαύτο[υ
]...χθ[ ]ἐπὶ χθ[

Fr. 2 1 seqq. = Par. 1 A 55 seqq. *τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίη μάχηι | ἕλαος παρασταθεῖσα πάϊς ἐρικτύπου Διός | καρδίην ὤρ(ε)ινεν αὐτῆς τῆς πολυ[.]λαυτου λεω | .[..]υ των[..]αλλακεινης ἡμέρης επ.[..]α*

It appears from Par. that this relates to a defeat of the Naxians by the Parians in the archonship of Amphitimus.

4 *ἐπὶ χθόνα* seems precluded by the space, though this is reported differently on pp. 48 and 56 of the edition of Par.

Fr. 3

(*a*)

]νδα[..].[ ]νδα[..].[
]ωνὲco[...]..[ ]ων ἐco[...]..[
].[.]cινθοηιειπημ[ν]η[υ]cὶν θοῆιcι πημ[ονὴ
]οταμφιπυργονὲcτα...[ ]οτ' ἀμφὶ πύργον ἔcταcαν[πονεύμενοι
]εγανδ'εθεντοθυμοναμ[μ]έγαν δ' ἔθεντο θυμὸν ἀμ[φε
].με[..]ηρ[.]νεἶμε[ ].με[. .]ηρ[.]ν εἶμέ[νη καλ
]μειπτη·πολλαδ'ερρυ[ἀ]μειπτή. πολλὰ δ' ἐρρυ[
(*b*)]ω.[ ]φαρετραιδ̣ρυκετ.κρυ[ ]φάρετραι δ' οὐκέτ' ἐκρυ[
].νβ[ ]cανἰῷν·οιδεπε[ ]cαν ἰῷν. οἶδεπε[
].κιδε[ ]ντεcἶνακαιταν[ ]ντεc ἶνac καὶ ταν[
]νβε[ ]υ..[ ]υ..[

Fr. 3(*a*) 1].[, apparently the tail of a letter descending well below the line, just possibly part of a rough breathing over ο in l. 2 2]..[, on the line the tip of a stroke rising with a slight slope to the right, followed by the lower end of a stroke rising from below the line more pronouncedly to the right, e.g. γχ; Par. 4 A 54 has]cε *Ζεὺc Ὀλυμπίω[ν πατήρ* 3 Of]η[only the faintest traces of the feet; Par.]ν *ἦν ἐπήγομ[* 4 Par. *πονε[* 5 Par. *ἀμφε[* 6 Par.]ραν *εὐμενῆ καλ[* 11 After υ the upper part of an upright stroke with ink to the right of its top

(*b*) A position to the left of (*a*) 8 seqq. is indicated by the fibres, but the distance away is not exactly determinable 8 .[, the lower part of an upright, e.g. ν 9],, ο or ω 10],, a curved stroke off the line, resembling a reversed comma, but the surface is damaged and the appearance of the ink may be deceptive

4 *ἔcταcαν*. This transitive form is also attested at *Il.* ii 525, xii 56, and elsewhere. *ἵcταcαν* is usually preferred and *ιcταcαν* is reported as the reading of Par. here.

7 I should guess: Many bows were drawn (cf. Archil. fr. 3) and the quivers no longer hid the arrows. But in that case *εἰρ-* not *ἐρρ-* would be expected.

Fr. 4(*a*)

]ρα
]τac
]
].ρι

Fr. 4(*a*) 4],, traces compatible with υ

Fr. 4(*b*)

]ατουc.[ ].[
].δικηνκρμ[
]υλων[

Fr. 4(*b*) 1 Of ϙ only the lower end of the tail .[, the lower part of an upright 2 Of ϟ only the tip

Fr. 4(*c*)

].ηcδε[
]καιπυ[
].νγαρο[
]τεcη[
].ηιβ[

Fr. 4(*c*) The general appearance is like that of fr. 4(*b*)

1],, the right-hand end of a cross-stroke 2 Of υ only the end of the left-hand arm 3],, apparently the right-hand stroke of ω, but a damaged ο may be possible 5],, traces compatible with the top of the central stroke and the extreme right-hand side of the loop of φ (or the cross-stroke of ψ)

Fr. 5

].acπιδ[
]νϊcηντην[
]δ[..]χθειcεργον[
]δεcτιμουδεἶcτεκμ[
]cέντοcδηϊοιcεμ[
]νακοντωνδουπονου[
]ευ[.]ρνα[.]ειτῆνδεκα.[
]βωνρηματρυκε.[
].αρ[.]υδενειδος[
].[

Fr. 5 1],, the lower parts of λ or χ 3 Of δ only the base line 7 .[, the bottom of a stroke apparently ascending to the right, e.g. λ 8 .[, the left-hand part of a crossbar as of τ 9],, γ or τ

5 *ἔντοc* cf. Archil. fr. 6, the only other example of the singular.
6 *δοῦπον ἀκόντων Il.* xvi 361.
8 If *αμε[]βων*, the middle would be expected.
9 *γὰρ οὐδὲν εἶδοc* is the natural presumption.

Fr. 6

1a]κα$^{\tau}$
]
]
]
1]χενασχεθω.[
]υασμενο̣.[
]α̣ρτερονκε̣[
]ε̣τ̣[.]..[ ]ον
5]τ̣ευμενος
]ενηνεχων
].αρμονέων·[
]ε̣το·
]δ̣ομους̣·[
10]....[

. . .

Fr. 6 1 .[, a dot level with the tops of the letters, compatible with *ν* 2 .[, a trace level with the tops of the letters 4 *ον* smaller than the rest and differently made, though perhaps by the same hand 7]., *γ* or *τ* 10 Partly stripped; the third letter perhaps *ι*, of the fourth nothing but the upper part of a diagonal as of *ν*

1a *κατ(ω)* indicating an omitted line supplied in the upper margin?
1 Perhaps *αὐ*]*χένα σχεθών* as in Tyrtaeus 11, 2, Theognis 536.
2 *εσκε*]*υας.*
3 *κ*]*αρτερὸν.*

Fr. 7

. .
]...ο[
]παν[
]εροσ·[
].πο̣[
5]φατ[
].κ[

. .

Fr. 7 1]., a dot on the line Before *ο* is either *εγ*, which I think the more probable, or *στ* 4]., the tail of *α* or *λ* For *ο̣*[*ω* cannot be ruled out 6]., a dot on the line, perhaps not a separate letter but the serif of *κ*

Fr. 8(*a*)

. . .
]...α̣.
].επεισ·
]νϊμβριου
]α̣σκεθοι σχε[
5]μενου
]οσωσ
]χα
]·
]χρεω
10]εοσπεσ[
].ελπομα[
]χρεωμ.[
].ουσε̣πεισ
].ονεειν·
15].οισεχων
]ζετο
]....[..]·

. . .

Fr. 8(*b*)

. .
]οιο.[
]σομαι
]θιφ̣.ονεε̣ι̣[
]ποτε
5]ωπα̣θειν·[

. .

The appearance of these fragments is consistent with the assumption that they belong to the same column.

Fr. 8(*a*) 1 This may be the top of the column, but the surface above it is damaged and one or at most two verses may have preceded it The bases of letters compatible with]*ζεται-* 2]., a trace level with the tops of the letters, *ν* possible but not verifiable 11]., apparently the lower left-hand arc of a circular letter, more than the usual distance from *ε* 14]., a slightly curved stroke descending from the left, e.g. *λ*, *μ* 15]., traces suggesting *ρ* 17 The upper part of *φ* or *ψ* followed by the tops of letters compatible with *ροδ*

Fr. 8(*b*) 1]*ο* has a stroke through its upper right-hand side .[, perhaps the base and part of

the right-hand stroke of δ 3 ., a trace level with the tops of the letters, ρ possible but not verifiable. θ not probable

Fr. 8 (*b*) 5 It may be worth while to call attention to the following facts. P. Lond. 487 B (Milne no. 55) col. i 1 ends]ονπαθειν. There is no particular reason to suppose this the same verse as fr. 8(*b*) 5, but there is an unexplained variation between P. Lond. col. i 9 and fr. 10, 8 also, and if it were the same verse, it would follow that fr. 8(*b*) 5 was the last of the column and fr. 10, 1 the first of the succeeding column. There is no resemblance between fr. 8(*a*) and fr. 10 and the fibres do not run across, but (even if fr. 8(*a*) is rightly presumed to be the upper part of the same column as fr. 8(*b*)) this is not conclusive disproof.

Fr. 9

]ἀλλατοινεοcτ[
]κἱνειταλαν[
]ρηcμεν[
].τερπ.[
5]ϒ[

. . .

Fr. 9 4]., possibly ρ, but more probably].ι, e.g.]ϕι,]λι, or the like .[, the left-hand half of a circular letter

2 κίνει imperative or (ἐ)κίνει imperfect? It is difficult not to remember that in *Il.* xix 223 we find κλίνειν τάλαντα said of Zeus.

Fr. 10

. . . . . .

]ηπ[ ]ηπ[
]τακη.[ ]τ' ἀκήρ[ατος
].ημαντορ.[ ]cημάντορε[c
]χμητηcε[αἰ]χμητὴς ἐ[ών
5].υμενος·].υμενος
]δρηcτελε[ ]δρης τελε[ῖν
]μνων·οτε ὀ]μνύων ὅτε
]νακουσεαι]ν ἀκούσεαι
]τιον·]τιον
10]πολει·]πόλει
].[ἔ]χ[ειν
]ν[cμε]ν[ος

. . . . . .

Fr. 10 1 P. Lond. has]ξειν]πιοιφρενα 5]., a trace level with the top of the letters, ε possible 8 P. Lond.]υξεται

P. Lond. 487 B (Milne no. 55) begins at the top of a column with the line preceding l. 1 and has four more line ends after l. 12. There are also the beginnings of the lines of a second column.

6 τελειν P. Lond. but **2313** elsewhere seems to be consistent in spelling -έειν.

Fr. 11

]ασκαιλ.[
]ορ.[

. . .

Fr. 11 As far as I can judge there is no reason why this fragment should not be supposed to come from the top of the same column as fr. 12. In fact ορ may well have stood vertically over αλ and in the immediately preceding line.

1 .[, a dot level with the tops of the letters 2 .[, a trace above the line

Fr. 12

. . .

]αλλη[
]ρμιμν[
]εναιδοιων[
]ω·κεινου[
5]ν·ενζοοῖcιδ[
]ενκακην.[
]ηcαλκηcλ[
]κειονπ[
]μενοιδ.[

. . .

Fr. 12 6 .[, the top left-hand corner of a circular letter 7]η, I think υ less likely but not impossible 9 .[, perhaps the tip of α or, less probably, of the left-hand branch of υ

Fr. 13

. . . .

].ca[
]μη[
]μφα[
].δερει.[
]ηρος·
5]υμβαλοντε[..].[
].νξεινωνφειδοιατ[
]ωνἀθροοιγενοιμεθ[
]cηcτευχεcινπεφρ[
]cφαcαμφικουριηλα.[

Fr. 13 1]., a trace level with the tops of the letters 4]., a slightly sinuous upright compatible with ι, the right-hand side of η, et al. .[, the lower left-hand arc of a circular letter 5].[, the base of a circle 6]., a trace on a single fibre 9 .[, the lower end of an upright, β one possibility

5 *cυμβαλόντες* v.l. *προcβαλόντες.*
6 *ξείνια* perhaps in the same sense as at Archil. fr. 7. *φειδοία[το.*
8 *πεφρ[αγμένοι*, or some other case, or another part of the perfect paradigm.
9 *cφας.* For the evidence for this form instead of *cφεας* see Smyth, *Ionic* p. 444, Bechtel, *Gr.D.* iii pp. 51, 161.

ἀμφικουρίη is unattested but on the strength of Suid. *ἀμφίκουρος . . . ἢν ἑκατέρωθεν ἄνδρες περιλάβωcιν* and Hesych. *περίκουρος· οἱ ἐκ τοῦ κυκλωθῆναι ἁλιcκόμενοι ἐν ταῖc μάχαιc* I should guess that it meant 'capture'. A derivative of *ἀμφίκο(υ)ρος* meaning either 'shaven on both sides' or 'having an elder and a younger brother' seems improbable in the context.

Fr. 14

. . .
].οιc.[
]νδετ[.]ν.[
]cιηγοϲιν[
]δετιccι.[
. . .

Frr. 14–15 look as if they might come from the same neighbourhood.

Fr.. 14 1]., probably the tail of κ .[, an upright hooked at the bottom, e.g. η or ι 4 For δ possibly β or λ .[, a dot on the line

Fr. 15

. . . . .
]ος[
]εννοcυβριν α.[
]νὴτὴνκαλλυ[
]ρουcαλκιμουc[
5] [
. . . . .

Fr. 15 2 .[, an upright 4 The bottom of the column?

2 For δ]ένοc cf. Hdt. ix 107. The point seems to be the same as in Archil. fr. 65, the repayment of insulting actions by insulting words.

Fr. 16

. . .
].[
]έωνν[
].φινηλ[
]μνιονφ[
5].cποδώ.[

Fr. 16 3]., there is a good deal of ink but I cannot recognize the letter; perhaps there was a correction 4 Or perhaps]η 5]., two dots, one above the other, perhaps parts of an upright

Fr. 17

. . .
]..[
]ψγαμ[
]άδεω[
]λιοc
5]·
. . .

Fr. 17 1 The foot of an upright followed by the base of a circle; perhaps a single letter, e.g. η

3 The accent shows a genitive. Probably a patronymic.

Fr. 18

. . .
]νερ.[
]εcθα.[
]λοῦτ[
. . .

Fr. 18 1 .[, an upright 2 .[, the left-hand lower part of a circular letter

1 If γ[, this combination of letters occurs in Archil. fr. 70, 3.
2 If c[, this in Archil. fr. 52.

Fr. 19

. . .
].η..[
]ηνουδ'επ.[

Fr. 19 Perhaps from the neighbourhood of fr. 3(*a*) 1 After η the feet of a slightly curved and of a straight upright 2 .[, the bottom left-hand arc of a circular letter

Fr. 20

. . .
]ν
]
]ην
]
5]
]c
. . .

Fr. 20 Perhaps from the neighbourhood of fr. 4(*a*).

Fr. 21

]ναιδε·τιc[
]καβῖνεων[
].ρεκεινοc[
. . .

Fr. 21 3]., the end of a stroke ascending from left to touch ρ just above the middle

Fr. 22

. . .
]αϲι·
]·
]ξιφε[
].δηc·
5]ων
].νοι
].αθη·
].
]ετοι·
10].ωc[
. . .

Fr. 22 4]., a trace on the line consistent with α 6]., traces on detached fibres consistent with ε 7]., γ or τ 8 A dot off the line, a stop (or part of a letter?)

Fr. 23

. . .
]γκαι[
].ερη[
]μ'ελεν[
]γυνα.[
5]νδιοc[
]πολυ[
. . .

Fr. 23 2]., a trace on the line, perhaps μ 4 .[, ι perhaps possible but not suggested

Fr. 24

. . .
]νμεγα[
]δουλιο[
]εξελ[
]καη[
5] κα[

Fr. 25

]ηεδεδη[
]ξομεν[

Fr. 26

]...[
].ωδιο[
]τοχθ[
]ροου· [
]λετο[
].ων[

Fr. 26 1 The lower part of an upright stroke followed by the bases of two circles, e.g. *τω*., but the signs might be combined differently, e.g. *πε*., *πο*. 2]., a stroke sloping slightly from left to right, opposite the top half of *ω* 6]., the lower part of an upright Above *ω* something has been written and blotted out

Fr. 27

]τρ̣..ϲϥ.[
]ν·τέ̣ωιπρ[
]ωϲαφροδιτ[
]χωνατολ[
]ερον[

Fr. 27 1 The bases of letters, the third, fourth, and last being ascending strokes of various lengths and slopes; there is an unusual amount of space between the fourth letter and *ϲ* (which might be *ϵ*)

2 *τέωι*: i.q. *τίνι* as at Hdt. i 11.

Fr. 28

]επᾱρθηνα[
]φ[

Fr. 28 2 Or *ψ*

Fr. 29

]μειλικ̣ον[
].[ ].[

Fr. 30

δο[.]λϥ.[
ουκεμ[
αλ[.]...[
ϵ.[

Fr. 30 may come from the same neighbourhood as frr. 14 and 15

3]...[, tops of letters, e.g. *α*, *δ*, *λ* followed by *ρ* and this by *υ* or *χ* 4 .[, an upright

Fr. 31

]ροϲτ[

Fr. 32

]ευθύ[
].κυν[
]ημ[

Fr. 32 2]., an upright

Fr. 33

]πεϲη[
]φ[

Fr. 33 2 Or *ψ*

Fr. 34

].
].ζυρη[

Fr. 34 2 ·]ι·, perhaps *ζ* written on *ϵ*

Fr. 35

]ϵν·
]ηποϲι
] ·ωμνυϵ·[
].μϵτ̣έα .[
]ποτϵ[
]α̣ραϲ[

Fr. 36

]ρϥ...[
]ϲθαϲονκ[
]ψάναϲτ[

Fr. 36 1 After *ι* the lower part of a circular letter

Fr. 37

].μϵϲ.[
]δϵγη[
]ηράδ.[

Fr. 38

]ρο'[
].'αποι[
]ϵρτηπαρ[
].ωϲτρεφ.[
].θ.ωπ.[
].[ ].[

Fr. 38 2]., perhaps *θ* likeliest, but anomalous .[, a trace level with the tops of the letters 4]., the edge of the upper part of an upright 5]., perhaps *ν*, but two letters, e.g. *οι*, *ρι*, may be represented Between *θ* and *ω* apparently the top of a circle .[, the upper part of a stroke descending to right, *α* acceptable

3 Possibly *ἱμερτὴ Πάροϲ*.
4 *-ωϲ τρεφ-* seems the likeliest articulation.
5 *ἀ]νθρωπ* could be accepted but the following sign seems incompatible with any case of *ἄνθρωποϲ*.

2314. Archilochus?, Trochaic Tetrameters

The attribution to Archilochus of the following shreds of verses—trochaic tetrameters, if the evidence of the two columns may be combined, and in the Ionic dialect (but for one aberrant form, ii 11)—is tentatively made on no better grounds than that there is prima facie no likelier claimant. It might be thought useless to print such exiguous results (of a considerable expenditure of time and trouble), but in a fair

number of places even a slight clue from elsewhere, by which as little as a single letter was unequivocally established, might lead to a disproportionate gain of sense, and, if this is Archilochus, the possibility is not too remote that another manuscript may appear containing parts of the same pieces.

The text is written in a very small hand to be dated, as well as I can see, in the third century. There are no lection signs (not even a trema in i 3 or a paragraphus between ii 9–10) either original (except possibly the stop in i 6) or subsequently inserted.

	Col. i	Col. ii
	. . . . .	. . . . .
	].[ ].[ ].[ ].....[.]...	[
	]ηρασελπομαιγαρελπομαι	[
	]νολ.ο..αμφαυτηςειςτρατος	[
	].ντε....οναρκαδοσσονον	[ ].[.].[
5	].πολλ..ελγονταινεοι	[ ]..[
	].α·διαπολινκουροτροφος	[ ]ρονδεδης.[
	]τα.....ις.ται	ο.[ ].[.].νδροσπε[
	].....α.ι.καγεαι	..[.].[ ]..δ[ ].π[
	].....ο.λο.ι..γας	.[..]..[ ]..[.]..[.]...[
10	].ιπροσερχε...[.].δε	αρχοσευμα.[.].ακοντιτ[
	]φροδιτηιφιλος	πειρεαιλιανλιαζεισκυ.[
	]ολβιος	ισθιυνναδισθ.[...]...[

The writing is very small and in places badly rubbed, the surface of the papyrus is wrinkled, and on the right the whole fabric is broken and twisted beyond my ability to put in order. It will be inferred from the fact that in a number of instances the interpretation of the ink results in improbable or impossible collocations of letters that the decipherment is to be received with great reserve

Col. 1 Bases of letters. The count is very rough 2]η perhaps π 3 See commentary 4 There is more than the normal interval between ε and the following letter, which may be ς After this three dots on the line, of which the first two may represent a single letter, e.g. η or κ Before ο perhaps the right-hand side of π 5]., perhaps ω but I am not sure that two letters, ον, may not be made of the traces If the rest is rightly read, -λα θε- seems most likely, but I cannot recognize αθ in the ink, nor indeed any letters of this hand 7 After α the lower part of an upright descending below the line, then scattered traces of letters which I cannot count accurately Between ς and τ I cannot read ε 8 Scattered traces of letters which I cannot count accurately 9 I cannot find any satisfactory combination of the ink though I think a correct proposal might be verified. Possibly].τρ Before ο a small semicircle, open upwards, on the line, followed by the lower end of a stroke descending from left After ο ink now resembling the lower half of χ Before ι apparently β or θ After ι apparently two uprights with confused ink between them 10]., an upright, slightly concave, with a hook to left at the foot; ω not suggested ...[, ται not strongly suggested but not perhaps ruled out [τ]οδε not verifiable

Col. ii For the reason given above the position of many of the certain letters in ll. 4–9 is itself uncertain. Those at the right-hand side of ll. 6–7 are certainly located in relation to each other but

not accurately in relation to the column. 10 .[, a small hook on the line, perhaps the foot of ς 11 .[, an upright descending a little below the line, ρ possible 12 θι[possible but not verifiable].., perhaps γγ, ς, or ςγ, but I cannot rule out a single τ

Col. i 2 ἔλπομαι . . . ἔλπομαι: for rhetorical repetition cf. below col. ii 12, Archil. fr. 66 (θυμέ, θύμ'), fr. 88 (ὦ Ζεῦ, πάτερ Ζεῦ), **2321** fr. 1, 13 (Anacr.) λεωφόρε, λεωφόρ' Ἠροτίμη.

2 seq. If ἔλπομαι . . . ἀμφαϋτήςει, cf. for the parataxis Archil. fr. 61 ἔλπομαι . . . καταυανεῖ.

3 ἄνολβος . . . ςτρατός is found in a quotation from Archilochus (fr. 60), but there are the following difficulties in the way of recognizing ἄνολβος here. The remains of the letter after λ, though not irreconcilable with β, do not suggest a β similar to that in l. 12; the ink to be interpreted as ς is anomalously far from the preceding ο; between this ς and α is an upright, apparently ι, which has to be left entirely out of account. The only solution that occurs to me is α]νολβο[ι]ςι, written ἐκ πληροῦς, for ἀνόλβοις', which gives a good sense (better, I should judge, than ἄνολβος in this context) but requires the assumptions of the total disappearance of a letter and of a *scriptio plena* not expected at this date.

4 The end of the line is clear and I find no convincing articulation. To see a mention of an Arcadian ass (prized in antiquity, particularly in the Peloponnese, Varro, *R.R.* ii 1, 14; 6, 2; 8, 3; cf. schol. Callim. *Αἰτ.* ᾱ in P. Brit. Mus. 131 (2r), i 7 Pf.) leaves a residue not easily explicable and has no obvious relevance. (Archilochus' typical ass is Prienian, fr. 97, where ὄςη must be retained.) Ἀρκάδος γόνον was not written.

6 The stop is suspect, both as being the only addition to the bare letters and as resulting in an awkward start of a clause, but I do not think it can be taken as part of any letter.

8 I cannot verify γυναικ

10 Before προς- a monosyllable is expected. The only one which I can think of in any way reconcilable with the sign before ι is τί (interrogative).

11 Ἄ]φροδίτηι: the first syllable short at Anacr. fr. 2, 3 but long at **2313** fr. 27, 3.

Col. ii 10 To judge by the projection of α the beginning of a new piece, though not marked by either coronis or paragraphus.

10 seq. If the principal verb is, as it appears to be, λιάζεις, πείρεαι will be the verb of a subordinate preceding clause and can be made so by taking ος in l. 10 as the relative. It will follow that αρχ is left as the vocative which might be expected. ἄρχ' (presumably for ἀρχέ 'chief', since Ἄρχος is not attested as a name), ὅς . . . πείρεαι is acceptable in general form and ἄκοντι suits πείρεαι in sense, but the total result: 'Chief, who art being spitted (with a spear), thou art too eager . . .' does not strike me as intrinsically very attractive. I do not know whether πειρεαι is a form that the second person of πειρῶμαι could be conceived of as taking in Ionic. It need hardly be said that there are other ways of dealing with ακοντι, e.g. κακόν τι which I can by no means rule out.

λίαν λιάζεις: the correct Ionic form λίην was not written. It is preserved (among other places) in the quotation from Anacreon ap. Ptol. π. διαφ. λεξ. in Λεία (*Hermes* xxii, 1887, p. 409) λίην δὲ δὴ λιάζεις, which also preserves the verb (rightly recognized by v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff) said to be derived from it by ancient grammarians, Ap. Dysc. π. ἀντ. 34, 26; Schol. Dionys. 402, 11; Hesych. in ληάζειν and λιάζει (ῥίπτει ταράσσει ἢ λίαν σπουδάζει), Phot. in λιάζειν, Et. Mag. in αἰάζω and οἰζυρός.

2315–6. Archilochus, *Ἐπωιδοί* (The Fox and the Eagle)

There is little direct evidence about the contents and composition of Archilochus' fable of the fox and the eagle, and the more or less plausible reconstructions of it based on Aesop, Babrius, and Phaedrus need not be repeated here, since, so far as I see, what is preserved in the scraps of the two manuscripts now printed contributes nothing which unambiguously confirms or refutes them.

The earlier is in a medium-sized calligraphic script of the square type which I should place between **1362** and **844** in the first part of the second century. A few lection signs and corrections were added apparently by another hand or hands, and there are some second-century cursive marginalia. The later is written in a hand of the common angular kind, resembling, for example, **2208**, and may be supposed to belong to the third. Of the lection signs some appear to be original, others are in a greyer ink.

2315

Fr. 1

].
]δ̣ạcφέρων
λ ε
].αδ̣'ουκἀκην[[ο]]π[
υποτηcκ[
]ηνεcδύο μενοιηcαν[
εχονταcε.[
].γη[.]ε̣φ̣'ὑψηλῶιπ̣[
πυροcαμ̣.[
5]νὲοccιῆι[ ].../τοιcτο̣[
]φονηcαν[
]προυθ̣.κε̣[.]ηψδ̣[
].εχο.[
]ạδ...[
]φὼ̣.ạ[

. . .

Fr. 2

]cἔληc· κατειρω.[
κωcτ.[
]καρδὶηνδ̣ο̣.[
]. [
]c.[..'..] [
5]ε̣ν [
]·[

. . .

Fr. 1 1 Above α is a letter or two letters of which the second might be ϵ 2]., the right-hand end of the cross-stroke of γ or τ The κ below λ does not seem to have been cancelled 5 ἢ might more naturally be read, but ἢν is excluded Schol. 2 Perhaps τα 7]., an upright 9 Perhaps λạ, but the tail of λ is curved as it is not in l. 4

Fr. 2 Below l. 2 the surface is rubbed so that there is no telling how far the writing went. Ll. 4–5 seem abnormally close together 1 Schol. 1 .[, the lower end of a stroke ascending to the right, ν possible Schol. 2 .[, α or λ probable 2 .[, the middle of the left-hand arc of a circular letter 4 After ϵ the left-hand arc of ο, ω, or ϵ, not ϵ or θ 5 After ϵ perhaps μ (of which we have no example), since the first stroke slopes more than is normal for ν, too little for λ

Fr. 1 1 seqq. are consistent with the hypothesis that the eagle is described as bringing to its nest and giving to its young something that sets the nest on fire.

2 *οὐ καλὴν ὄπα* would have been comprehensible. The eagle *κλάζει* or *κλαγγάζει* (*Stud. it.* i pp. 88, 94; but see Aristot. *H. A.* 618ᵇ31, 619ᵃ3). I do not see the point of the correction, which suggests only *ἔπι* to me, and this, in turn, that *ὀπί* not *ὄπα* was the text.

3 Aesop supplies: *ἀπτ]ῆνες δύο* (cf. *Il.* ix 323). Aristotle (*H. A.* 563ᵃ17 seqq.) endorses Musaeus' statement about the eagle, *ὅς τρία μὲν τίκτει, δύο δ' ἐκλέπει, ἓν δ' ἀλεγίζει.*

4 *γῆς ἐφ' ὑψηλῶι πάγωι* cf. Archil. fr. 87. The eagle of the later fables has its nest in a tree.

5 The combination of 'nest' in the text and 'fire' in the marginal note recalls Aesop: *σπλάγχνον ἔμπυρον ἀνήνεγκεν· οὗ κομισθέντος εἰς τὴν καλιάν κτλ.*, and Babrius: *ἱερεῖον . . . ἁρπάσας μετὰ ἄνθρακος ἔθετο εἰς τὴν καλιήν κτλ.* Archil. fr. 126 *πυρὸς δ' ἦν αὐτῶι φεψάλυξ* has been conjectured to refer to this.

6 *προὔθηκε* cf. Archil. fr. 38. The position of this word makes it look as if the verse was unusually long.

Fr. 2 There is no guarantee that this belongs to the same epode as fr. 1.

1 Schol. *κατειρων[εύεται* or the like.

2316

. . . . . .

]..[ ].ω[
].ρ.[ ]ηρ.[
].τάτην[ ].τάτην[
].'γ'ηείδεεκα̣.[ ]ἑ̣ γ' ἠείδεε κα.[
5]ρε[.]ας]ρε[.]ας
].δ'.μηχανοντ.[ ].δ' ἀμήχανον τ.[
]ακον ·]ακον
]...ωγμεμνημενο̣.[ὀρ]φαγῶν μεμνημένο.[
].η.κ[[.]]ύcας].ηγ κλύcας
10].. υθονωκέωcδὶαιθεροc[κέ]λ̣ευθον ὠκέως δι' αἰθέρος
].. 'cacπτερα λαιψηρὰ κυ]κλώcας πτερά
].ἢ.. ·cocδεθυμοcἐλπεται [ ].ἢ.. · cὸc δὲ θυμὸc ἔλπεται

. . . . . .

1]., the upper part of an upright, curving slightly to left as it descends ω[, only the left-hand angle 2 .[, perhaps a damaged κ, or ι.[4]ἑ, only the right-hand end of the cross-stroke ligatured to the angle of γ .[, two traces near the base-line on a single fibre 6]., the upper part of

an upright 8 .[, the foot of c possible, but not verifiable 9]., the top of an upright Apparently[[α]] 11 See Archil. fr. 87 I am not sure whether λής should be preferred 12]., the lower part of an upright After η the top left-hand side of ε or the like and, at an interval, the upper part of an upright

4 ἠείδ· as at **2312** fr. 5(*a*) 8. (Correct Smyth, *Ionic dialect* § 702.)

The letter after κα cannot be verified. κακ[is not, as far as I can tell, ruled out. καλ[, I think, is. Not that one would expect to find any form of καλός in Ionic with a short α, but in **2313** fr. 3(*a*) 6 καλ[is reported from the Parian monument at the end of a trochaic tetrameter.

5 φ]ρέ[ν]ας a possibility.

10 Cf. διὰ μέσου γὰρ αἰθέρος τέμνων κέλευθον Aristoph. *Thesmoph.* 1099 seq. τάμνων would go nearer to filling the presumed space on the left.

11 From the reference in Euseb. *Praep. ev.* xv 795 a it would be inferred that these words applied not to the eagle but to the fox, which must fly, if it is to come at the eagle's eyrie. But the masculine participle now shows that Eusebius wrested them from their application in the poem.

12 Homeric models would lead to the expectation of σοὶ δὲ θ. ἔ., but at *Il.* xv 288 ἔλπετο θυμὸς ἑκάστου shows virtually the same usage as this place.

2317. Anonymous, Trochaic Tetrameters in Ionic

There is nothing to show the authorship of the following scrap of verse, but the forms and vocabulary point to an old Ionic writer and of those we know none seems more likely to be the rightful claimant than Archilochus, with whose vehement and hurrying style what is preserved here is quite consistent. It contains an attack on somebody for cowardice, but in what connexion it is not now possible to say.

The hand, though more formal than that of **2079**, appears to belong to the same type and may be assigned to the second century. Some of the letter forms resemble those of P. Brit. Mus. 1873 (New Pal. Soc. ii 53), which has a document of Domitian's reign on the verso.

	].....[.]....ϥ.[..].υπαντω.[	....[.]....ϥ.[..].υπαντω.[
	.]..νος·.δ[...].ιμε.....[	.]..νος· .δ[...]ρμε.....[
	....]επικροτ..δ[	....] ἐπικροτέῳδ[
	..]εβαμβάλυζε·πο.[	..]εβαμβάλυζε·πο.[
5	καιτομενφυγειναγδ.[	καὶ τὸ μὲν φυγεῖν ὀτανδ.[
	ανδρασινκεινοισχολωθει[	ἀνδράσιν κείνοις χολωθεὶ[c
	δυcμενεωνκομῆταπαιδ[	δυcμενέων κομῆταπαιδ[
	ὀυcετοῦτήιcχυνεναυδεν[	οὔ cε τοῦτ' ἤιcχυνεν οὐδὲν[
	ωcαπευεργεατιναξαcετρ[	ὡς ἀπ' εὐεργέα τινάξας ἐτρ[
10	καιγαραλκιμωτερουοcεὖκα..[	καὶ γὰρ ἀλκιμωτερουος εὖ κα..[
	ταυτεπηβολη[.]ε·θεουcγαρουκενι.[	ταῦτ' ἐπηβόλη[c]ε· θεοὺc γὰρ οὐκ ἐνι.[
	αλλοτευνεκενπροπαντωνεκ[	ἀλλ' ὀτεύνεκεν προπάντων εκ[
	ηλθεcεκπλ[...].εφυγρακυματ[	ἦλθεc ἐκπλ[...]ς ἐφ' ὑγρὰ κύματ[
	αδρυφής·ο.[...].c.[.....]ϥκλεὶ[	ἀδρυφής· ο.[...].c.[.....]ϥκλεὶ[
15	αλλαπαρθ.[. . . . . .]δεμ.[	ἀλλαπαρθϥ[. . . . . .]δεμ.[
	.[...]όλιν.[. . . . . .]ναγγ[	.[..π]όλιν .[ ]ναγγ[
	....]ι·πολ.[	....]ι·πολ.[
	....]...·π[	....]...·π[

. . . . . .

1–3 In some parts of these lines the horizontal fibres are either displaced or destroyed so that the present appearance of the traces may be deceptive 1 Before ϥ the ink might be read as the top halves of πρ, but the traces might be combined otherwise After ϥ the top left-hand arc of a circular letter After ω a stroke sloping slightly to the right, ν not particularly suggested 2 Two letters might find room before δ, if the second were narrow After ε the left-hand arc of a small circle 5 Of δ only the base and top, followed by what might be parts of η 10 ..[, the foot of an upright followed by a dot on the line, e.g. τα[11 .[, the top and bottom of a stroke sloping slightly to the right 14 After ο the left-hand tip of a stroke level with its top cθ[or possibly cϥ[15 θϥ[, scarcely θρ[After μ the left-hand tip of a stroke level with its top 16 ιν is followed by γ or π 18 Before π the tops of two circular letters, e.g. ρς. preceded by a dot level with the tops of the letters

4 βαμβαλύζειν (hitherto only lexical: Phryn. *Praep. Soph.*, Hesych., Eust. 812, 47, Schol. *Il.* x 375, but βαμβακύζω Hippon. 56 Kn.) is interpreted 'chatter' with cold or fright. ἐπικροτεῖν τοῖς ὀδοῦσιν also has this meaning (Ps.-Lucian, *Philopatr.* 21), so that perhaps it should be related to ἐπικροτέω in the foregoing line, but the difference of persons makes this dubious. It is to be noted that the Strasbourg epodes 1, 9 have the uncompounded κροτέοι δ' ὀδόντας.

8 τοῦτ', presumably τὸ φυγεῖν l. 5.

9 Perhaps what is 'shaken off' is something worn or carried (in Archilochus' own flight it was a shield). εὐεργής qualifies too many different things to afford a clue here.

10 The reading is not in doubt. It seems that the letters should contain the subject of ἐπηβόληcε or at least something qualifying the subject, or, if ταῦτα is the subject, the object or something qualifying it.

11 The verb ἐπηβολεῖν is not otherwise attested except at Pind. *Pae.* vi 182, where it is constructed with the genitive.

13 κύματ' εὐρέης ἁλός ap. Cic. *Attic.* vi 3 perhaps from Archilochus.

14 ἀδρυφής, unattested. I suppose, in a general sense 'undamaged', as we might say 'without a scratch'. So Herodas 8, 2 τὴν δὲ χοῖρον αὐονὴ δρύπτει, and perhaps cf. Hesych. δρυφόμενοι· φθειρόμενοι, though his δρύφειν· περαίνειν and Alcman's δρυφῆται, fr. 70, make this uncertain.

2318. Anonymous, Iambic Trimeters(?), in the Ionic Dialect

The following scraps are picked out of a much larger number, representing I cannot say how many different rolls, all written, I believe, though considerable variations are discernible in the script, by a single copyist. Besides what is published here I have identified choral lyric and elegiac compositions and at least two separate commentaries on poetical texts.

If the evidence of fr. 2 below may be combined with that of frr. 1 and 5, iambic trimeters are to be recognized. The dialect and metre, as far as can be observed in such restricted material, are not inconsistent with ascription to an old Ionic writer, except that περιπταίειν, if it occurred at fr. 5, 8, is recorded only from late authors.

The hand, a pretty upright uncial varying in size, may be assigned to the second century. The scribe, like those of **1082** and **2176**, employs both an angular and a round-looped α. The majority of the accents and other lection signs are, as far as I can tell, by the same hand as the text, but I think one or two may be due to a different pen.

Fr. 1

. . . .
]αιcχῦν...[
]ονερξειαcκαϲ[
]δαμειβεται .[
]αιτιτοιμελω [
5]ϲανειρωτᾶι..δουc ·[

Fr. 1 1 Perhaps νετϲ[but the ν is not made as usual 3 .[, perhaps a large middle stop 5 ϲϩ possible

Fr. 2

. . . . . .
εϣοc[
κ̣ά̣μ̣μ̣[
..πῆϲ[
ἄκροιc.[
5 [ ]
. . . . . .

Fr. 2 1 ϣ not satisfactory but I see no preferable alternative 3 An upright stroke, with ink to the left above and opposite the middle, followed by a small semicircular loop on the line; there is ink also above the line between them, which does not suggest an accent. Hardly ρο, perhaps το, but some ink not accounted for 4 .[, an upright

Fr. 3

. .
]μυc.[
]βορβ[
]ϥφριξ[
].μυξ.[
. .

The hand appears to be slightly larger than that of any of the other fragments.

Fr. 3 1 .[, an upright rather close to c, probably π or γ 3 Of ϥ only the right-hand end of the cross-bar, which has an unusual look

Fr. 4

. .
κ[
.[
. .

Fr. 4 2 The tip of an upright?

Fr. 5

(c) . .
]..[
]..ρίην
]ναι ·
]αιτιον
5 (a) . . .]'.εισγάρεις
].μ..[(b) . .]ωνιδη·
]ιτοιουτον.[|].[.].[.].[.].[|]εαι
.]νέωνῆ[|]πέριπτα[|]ν κακωι
. . .]ϥϥϥ[|]οc ·
. . . . . .

Fr. 5 The cross-fibres fix the levels of these three fragments as shown; the intervals between them cannot be determined by physical evidence, but the metrical evidence is consistent with their being very small.

1 Λ stroke descending from left to right and meeting near the line a stroke rising left to right, e.g. λλ 2]ιθ possible 5]., a trace of the upper part of an upright 6]., traces consistent with ν

Fr. 6

]̣.λ[
]νος[

Fr. 6 1]., the lower part of α, λ, χ

Fr. 7

]νκ̣ε̣[
]σανη[
]νουτεπε̣.[
].τρ̣ν̣[

Fr. 7 3 .[, the foot of a stroke rising to right 4]., the tip of an upright

Fr. 8

]...άτη[
]αδηδέιλα̣.[
]χεδείλουσ̣ε̣̄.[
]κ̣αιζ̣ηλωτα̣.[
]θυμωικ̣ὸ̣υδ̣'[

Frr. 8 and 9 may come from the same neighbourhood.

Fr. 8 1]..., a dot on the line, followed by the lower part of ε or ς and this by the same 2 .[, an upright 3 .[, the back of a curved letter, e.g. ς 4 Of]κ only the ends of the branches .[, a slightly convex upright 5 .[, a dot level with the tops of the letters, possibly the end of the left-hand branch of υ

Fr. 9

]α̣..ο̣ι̣ .[
].α̣ρεστι[

Fr. 9 1 After α an upright descending below the line and another on the line, υτ would suit .[, a stroke ascending from the line to the right, e.g. λ, χ 2 α̣ has the appearance of λ; the remains of the preceding letter suggest κ

Fr. 10

]ε̣ιβετο .[
]μων.[
]ε̣ύλ.[

Fr. 10 2 Perhaps ν[.].[should be written, i.e. [ι] followed by the top of a circle 3 .[, the middle of an upright

Fr. 11

].[
]ρές̣χ̣[

Fr. 11 2 ς corr. ex ι?

Fr. 12

].[
].ηχ[

Fr. 12 1 Perhaps the right-hand angle of φ 2]., an upright

Fr. 13

].αρας[
] [

Fr. 13 1]., the right-hand part of the cross-stroke of γ or τ

Fr. 14

]ναι[
] [

Fr. 15

].ευπ̣[
]τότε̣.[
]κ̣αρκ̣[

Fr. 15 1]., the lower part of an upright 2 Above]τ a trace of interlinear ink .[, a short stroke rising from left to right level with the top of ε

Fr. 16

]ος
]ι̣
].α

Fr. 16 3]., the top of an upright

Fr. 17

].ηγα̣.[

Fr. 17]., a horizontal stroke on the line, e.g. ζ .[, the upper part of an upright

Fr. 18(*a*)

]ϵϲω[
].[

Fr. 18(*b*)

]....ωϲ[
]ϵϲορθον
].ϵρθϵ.[

Frr. 18(*a*), (*b*) The fibres of the backs seem to indicate that these two stood in the same column. There is nothing to show the interval between them and, though I think 18(*a*) was above the right-hand side of 18(*b*), it may have been below it.

(*b*) 1]...., the lower part of ϵ or ϲ, the lower part of an upright, the lower arc of a circle with a slight tilt to right, the lower part of ϵ or ϲ; e.g. ϲτοϲ, but there are many alternatives 2]., a dot level with the tops of the letters .[, the upper part of an upright

Fr. 19

Col. i
]..
]
]
]πικ(αι)χαλκ(αι)·
]

Col. ii
α[
κ[
τα.[

Fr. 20
]χνηι[
]οιδϵ[

Fr. 19 col. ii 3 .[, the lower part of an upright

Fr. 21

]
]
]
]
]—
]×
[

.[
δ[
[
ϵ[
η[
γ[
ξ·]

Fr. 21 1 .[, the foot of an upright 6 Or perhaps the left-hand part of π

Fr. 22

]μητί.[
]πϵ̀ριϲ[
]..[

Fr. 23

]α[.]γϵλ[
]νέϲθ.[
]ημη[

Fr. 24

]ρη.[
]ζη[

Fr. 25

]μ.[
]ϵτϲαι.[
]μ[

Frr. 22–25 have a general likeness of appearance and, I should judge, may have come from the same region. Frr. 24–25 have common cross-fibres, but as these cannot be laid so that lines of writing and cross-fibres correspond simultaneously, I suppose different columns to be represented. The interval between fr. 24 and fr. 25 cannot be determined, their order I believe to be probably that shown.

Fr. 22 1 .[, traces compatible with the left-hand part of μ 3]., the top of an upright .[, perhaps the upper right-hand arc of a circle; e.g.]ϲ[

Fr. 23 1 If there was a letter between α and γ, one would have expected to see a trace, but there is more than the normal interval between them Of λ[only the left-hand stroke 2 .[, the edge of the left-hand arc of a circle

Fr. 24 1 .[, perhaps elements of μ

Fr. 25 1 ἴϲται probable, but too much broken and rubbed to verify Interl.]μ might be taken as].ι. It may be followed by ϵ (without head or cross-stroke) or ϲ

Fr. 26

].λυ[
]μ[

Fr. 26 1]., perhaps the foot of an upright and elements of the right-hand part of a cross-stroke level with the tops of the letters, i.e. γ, but this is quite uncertain

Fr. 1 A conversation.

2 *μέγιστον ἔρξειεν κακόν* at Sim. Amorg. 7, 82.

3 *τοῖς*]*δ'* suggested by Herodotean usage but *ὧ*]*δ'* also possible as well as other adverbs.

Fr. 5 2 *α*]*ἰθρίην* probable (or a derivative).

5 See on **2310**, fr. 4, 4 for similar verse-endings.

Since the position of the accent seems to show that]*ίεις* was not written (and *χαρίεις*, practically the only adjective available, would not scan), it seems likely that]*ήεις* must be assumed. Although the evidence is not very plentiful, I believe the correct dialectal form was not *-ήεις* but *-έεις*, here metrically indistinguishable but metrically guaranteed at Archil. fr. 74, 8 (= **2313** fr. 1, 3), Sim. Amorg. 7, 57.

6 Perhaps a patronymic, but cf. **2310** fr. 3, 14, where the trema rules the patronymic out and *ἴδηι* must presumably be intended.

8 The mark of length implies that the missing vowel was one of the *δίχρονα*, presumably *ι* or *υ*, since *ᾱ* might be expected to be represented by *η*. The word might have been a participle, a genitive plural, or even a nominative singular (though I can think of none but *ξυνέων*, metrically impossible in the position).

περιπταίειν attested only in late authors, the earlier employing *περιπίπτειν*.

Fr. 8 2 Presumably some case of *δείλαιος*, though this word is adduced only from Attic authors and *δειλούς* appears in the next verse.

Fr. 18(*b*) 2 *ἔ*]*νερθεν*[would be a reasonable guess, but *ἐς ὀρθόν* has no obvious relevance to this.

2319. Anonymous, Ionic Verses

The two sets of fragments published in this number and **2219** appear to have been found separately and are in different metres, but since they are in the same hand the question arises whether they are to be attributed to the same author. The only fragment of **2319** well enough preserved to afford any evidence is in an iambic or trochaic metre used *κατὰ στίχον* and the dialect is a correct Ionic. **2219** and **2220**, which is a second manuscript containing parts of the same poem or poems, are in hexameters and the language is of the conventional type associated with them. **2219** fr. 2, 2 seq. = **2220** fr. 1 i 21 seq. are identical with an anonymous couplet attributed by Reitzenstein to Callimachus and **2219** fr. 3, 1 (perhaps = **2220** fr. 2, 3) not improbably with an anonymous line attributed by Hecker to Callimachus (fr. an. 110 Schn.). He could hardly be the author of **2319**. The Milan *διηγήσεις* (P. Med. 18) acquaint us with only two Callimachean pieces prima facie suitable in regard to both metre and dialect, those beginning *Ἀργώ κοτ' ἐμπνέοντος* (viii 21) and *τὰς Ἀφροδίτας* (viii 41) and obviously neither is likely to have resembled **2319** fr. 4 in either contents or form. In fact it was Euphorion, not Callimachus, who wrote the poem or poems contained in **2219** and **2220**. We are not told that he ever composed in iambics or trochaics. In the absence of external evidence it would be reasonable to attribute **2319** to Archilochus rather than any other writer we know, the possibility of whose authorship could be entertained.

Fr. 1

]..*ντιον* [

]*υμι*.[

]*ευ*[

. . .

Fr. 1 1]..., a blob of ink level with the tops of the letters, perhaps *ε*, *c*, or the like, followed at some distance by the top of an upright; possibly *αν* but not]*ναν* or]*ε*[*ν*]*αν* 2 *ι*, a short horizontal stroke to right of its centre not accounted for .[, an upright, perhaps *η*

Fr. 2

(*a*) . . . .

]. . . . .[

]. *ρρ*. . *π̣η*[

]*ν̣ν̣δε̣π̣*[

]. *ρ̣υ̣λομαι*. [

5]. *υνομ*. . .[

]. *νογδ*. [.]. *δ*[

]. . . *ωc*. *ν̣νοι*. [

(*b*)]*νηγη*[ ]*c̣ομ*. [

]. [.]*λλερ*[ ]*μιη*[

10]. . . [[*ον*]][.]*ι*. [ ]. . *ψ*. [

]. *μφι*. [.]*δ*[

]. *ιμεν*. . [

]. [

. . . .

Fr. 2 It is obvious that (*a*) and (*b*) stood in close proximity but I cannot verify my conjecture that they joined to form ll. 8–10, one letter being missing between them in l. 9 and nothing in the other two. [Addendum. I now have a strong suspicion that I should have recognized in ll. 8–13 coincidence with **2312** fr. 19]

2]., a crossbar not suggesting *γ*, but if *π* or *ξ* some of the lower parts should be visible After *ρ* an upright; if *ι*, two letters between it and *π̣* 4]., *β* not verifiable 5 Possibly *μη* 6]., an upright and traces of a second Before *δ*[part of an upright 7 After *c* perhaps *c* or *ε* 8 .[, top of an upright 9 Two narrow letters might be inserted 10]*ι* might be the right-hand stroke of another letter Between it and *ψ* not more than two letters; if *μ*, only one

Fr. 3

. . .

]. . [

]. . [.]*ηδ*[

δ

]. *τηνδετ̣α̣*[

Fr. 3 3]., perhaps the end of the crossbar of *ε*

Fr. 4

]π[..]χετα[
]εθων
]ακ[..]ριης
]νωξυνασσαθης
]ην.γωδικην
]οσεσταθης
].οισινηρκεσας ·
].ε.εσαρκεσειν
].ελαγχανες
].ματι ·
]θενειαδη[ ]
]αλλυν.σπολιν[
]αγαρφρονεεις[
].ϊζρ[
]ο.[

Fr. 4 2 Cf. **2313** fr. 6, 1 σχεθων (but fr. 8, 4 σκεθοι) 5]η, only the second upright 8]μεδ or μελ is suggested

Fr. 5

].η[
]πε[

Fr. 6

].ς.[
]διο.[
].[

Fr. 6 1 .[, a tall upright and the lower half of another, perhaps ι.[should be written 2 .[, an upright with ink to the left of its top, π, υ possible

Fr. 7

]ψαιησε[
]ησδι.υσμ[
].[.]ξυνω.[
].[
].[

Fr. 7 1 ε[rather anomalous, perhaps β 3 .[, perhaps ρ but ς possible 5 λ or part of μ

Fr. 8

].τ[.]...[
]ωναθ[
]τινουδ[

Fr. 8 1]., perhaps ε or ς 2 θ[, only traces of the middle left-hand side

Fr. 9

].νς[
]λλ[.].[
].ανς.[

Fr. 9 1]., the tip of the right-hand arm of υ or χ 2 Either λ might be χ 3]ξ probable but]χ perhaps not excluded

2320. Anonymous, Iambic or Trochaic Verses in the Ionic Dialect

None of the following verses survives elsewhere and no clue to their authorship is afforded by the proper name in l. 7, which cannot be attached to any recorded person. In their dialect and diction I can see nothing certainly inconsistent with an early date of composition—a possible indication of relative lateness is pointed out in the note on l. 18—but they exhibit no strongly marked features, and admonitory verses composed conventionally in Ionic by a writer of much later date than Simonides of Amorgos or Archilochus might well present this appearance. If it is assumed that all the lines are in one and the same metre and started from one and the same alignment, two hypotheses about the metre represented are worth mentioning. The first is that they are iambic trimeters. In that case it is remarkable that the caesuras in ll. 6 and 14 fall far to the left of those in the remaining comparable lines or, to put the same thing in another way, that on the left-hand sides of ll. 6–7 a foot and a half and half a foot must have occupied equal spaces and on the left-hand sides of l. 14 and l. 17 two feet and one foot must have occupied equal spaces. The second hypothesis, that they are trochaic tetrameters, allows more play for the equalization of written length, but involves the postulation in two lines, namely, 2 and 10 (out of the fifteen where observations can be made), of a caesura after the third short instead of the diaeresis after the second anceps. This form would rule out any early writer in this metre, its first known occurrence being either in Aeschylus (*Persae* 165 disputed) or Sophocles (*Philoct.* 1042). (Both are isolated instances; it is said to be found in about the same proportion as here in the trochaic tetrameters of Aristophanes.)

I have considered other possibilities, that more than one metre is represented, that there was more than one alignment, but have rejected them. Without being able to reach a certain conclusion I will only state my belief that the first hypothesis, that iambic trimeters are represented, is the likelier, in spite of the difficulties of supplementation it entails.

The substance of what is preserved appears to be that wrongdoing is inevitably punished. Though the separate phrases are easily comprehensible, I can give no plausible account of the connexions between them.

The hand is a decent but not elegant specimen of the common angular uncial, comparable with, for example, **1624** and referable to the first part of the third century. Most of the lection signs and other additions to the text seem to be by the original hand, all may be so.

]	·..ε.δ.κἄλο̣ν.[	
	]ακρ̣[.].[.]μά[.]ι̣ζ̣εκαιβ̣ι̣[	
	]ας̣.ε̣ τ̣ο̣ι̣.·α̣.[.]..[	
]	με̣.α̣[	
5]	....ν̣ [	
	].αρακασεβεωσειργ̣.[	]. ἆρα κἀσεβέως εἰργα̣[
	]ευφιλάνθητευξ̣ε̣[	]ευ Φιλάνθη τεύξε̣[
	].νεκεινηγ'ανδροσ̣ἤερινυω[	].νεκείνη γ' ἀνδρὸς ἦ' Ἐρινύω[ν
	].τόγ'αυτοσ̣ϊσθι·πολλάτοικακα[	]ητό γ' αὐτὸς ἴσθι· πολλά τοι κακά
10	]ccaθεοσύληισιναν̣θρασινθ̣[	]cca θεοσύληισιν ἀνδράσιν θ[
	̓]ctισπ̣ὲριφιλουσ̣ἄμαρτ[	ὅ]ctις περὶ φίλους ἁμαρτ[άνει
	]π̣ωτ[[ι]]σαλλοσόυτεμ̣η̣τερα[	]πω τις ἄλλος οὔτε μητέρα[
	].έγ'εὕρεκερδοσουδαδελ̣φ̣[	]μέγ' εὗρε κέρδος οὔτ' ἀδελφ[εήν
	]βη[[ν]]ταῦτ'[.]γωμαντ̣ε̣υ̣.[	]βη. ταῦτ' [ἐ]γὼ μαντεύο[μαι
15	]μ̣'αυτησ̣μῆλ'ἐπισφαζ̣ει[	]μ' αὐτῆς μῆλ' ἐπισφάζει[
	]μοιρανηλὲ̣ῃ̣[.]κ̣ι̣χῃ̣[	]μοῖρα νηλεὴ[ς] κιχή[σεται
	]αλαξ̣εισθυμον,ουδεκ[	οὐ μ]αλάξεις θυμὸν οὐδεκ[
	].ἐ̣ῦ̣σαναιτιηναπωλεσα[	]. εὖσαν αἰτίην ἀπώλεσα[
	]α̣ν̣τ[.]κ̣αιλαοισινἀνδα[	]αντ[.] καὶ λαοῖσιν ἄνδα[ν
20	]..[	]..[

. . . . . .

Ll. 1 and 3–5 are badly rubbed so that in some places nothing but scattered traces remain and letters can be neither read nor counted

1 Between ε and δ parts of an upright 2].[, the base of a circle on the line ι̣[, perhaps ρ 3 Before the stop perhaps ς α̣ is more like λ, but though the presumed mark of length may be an accent, either precludes a consonant 6]., the top of an upright 12 I am by no means sure that the original ι was struck out, cf. the ι of ερινυ, l. 8 15 Only the base of ζ survives, but it conforms with that of ζ, l. 2, and does not resemble that of ξ, ll. 7, 17 18]., the upper end of an upright, ν probable

2 I believe ἀκρ[ο]β̣[η]μά[τ]ι̣ζε must be recognized. It is allowable to infer that this word was a gloss, since it is registered by Hesychius (ἀ-ε· ἄκροις τοῖς βήμασιν ἵσταιο), though it is also found as an interpretation of a gloss, . . . προποδίζων· ἤτοι μετέωρα καὶ ὑψηλὰ προβαίνων ἢ ἐπ' ἄκρων τῶν ποδῶν βαδίζων, ὅ ἐστιν ἀκροβηματίζων, schol. *Il.* xiii 158.

'Strut', 'swagger' may be the meaning, cf. Soph. *Aj.* 1236 ὑψήλ' ἐφώνεις κἀπ' ἄκρων ὠδοιπόρεις, but perhaps no more than a stately walk is implied, as apparently at Eur. *Ion.* 1166.

If βρ[, not βι[, is to be read, it may be worth while to call attention to Hesych. βρυανίων· μετεωριζόμενος καὶ κορωνῶν (? leg. -νιῶν).

7 Φιλάνθη has the appearance of a feminine corresponding to Φίλανθος (Paus. v 2, 4; Οἰνάνθη, Ῥοδάνθη are of a different nature). I have not found the name elsewhere and cannot judge between the advisability of accepting this interpretation or positing the vocative of Φιλάνθης. Such a form

from an -ες stem has parallels in Attic and other dialects, not, so far as I know, in Ionic. A man appears to be involved farther on, but that does not rule out the mention of a woman here. (Perhaps I should add that the vocative of Ἄνθης must be Ἄνθα, so that apart from other considerations φίλ' Ἄνθη is not to be entertained.)

8 In an early writer the articulation -νε κείνη would be prescribed by the absence of metrically guaranteed ἐκ- forms, outside of dactylic metres, unless εκεινοσήμ[in the second Strasbourg epode (Diehl, *Anth. Lyr.*, Archil. fr. 80, 9) is relevant evidence.

ἦ': the accentuation of the manuscript is apparently intended to show elided ἠέ, though this form is not known to occur in Ionic and is to be presumed incapable of anastrophe. The hiatus ἦ Ἐρ-, which must alternatively be admitted, is equally foreign to Ionic usage in verse of this kind.

9 τό γ' αὐτὸς ἴσθι 'know this without being told' cf. αὐτὸς γνῶθι Aesch. *Septem* 650, 652. See also on l. 14.

9 seq. I suppose something like: many evils befall the sacrilegious. The specific instances of wrongdoing which appear to be referred to in ll. 11 seqq. are not the kind of sacrilege naturally denoted by θεοσυλία; perhaps they are in some way parallel or compared.

10 θεοσύληισιν now found (in the same case, with Ionic synizesis) in Alcaeus, **2303** fr. 1, 4. Cf. ῥῖνα θεόσυλιν in Hipponax, **2176** fr. 1 i 1, 14. Before the appearance of these instances θεο-σύλης, -συλία were recorded only in late prose.

12 seq. I suppose οὐδέ]πω and a following participle connoting 'doing hurt to'. Cf., for example, Soph. *El.* 1304 seq. σε λυπήσασα . . . μέγ' εὑρεῖν κέρδος.

14 Perhaps 'requital (ἀμοιβή, quoted by Pollux, who says it is 'ambiguous', from Archilochus, fr. 159) got him, will get you' or the like. The verb used may have been simply ἔχειν, which could account for the writing in the first place of the accusative; cf. Σμ. inc. lib. 18 where the manuscripts of Hephaestion exhibit ἔχει μὲν Ἀνδρομέδα καλὰν (H), -δαν καλὰ (A, I) ἀμοιβάν.

It may be worth while suggesting that ll. 9–13 πολλά τοι—ἀδελφ[εήν are parenthetic. τοι does not appear to be a particularly suitable particle to follow ἴσθι, though Anacreon is credited with ἴσθι τοι· καλῶς μὲν ἄν τοι, fr. 75. 'Know—you will be punished. There are plenty of examples before you' seems to me to offer a better sequence of thought.

15 seqq. I am puzzled by the detail of the expression, if the general sense was, the wrongdoer cannot avert punishment by sacrifice.

The sacrifice of sheep is inappropriate both to the Furies and to the Fates. Perhaps the attempt at propitiation is directed towards Death (cf. Aesch. *Niobe* fr. 161) or Zeus.

16 Θάνατος καὶ Μοῖρα κιχάνει *Il.* xiv 478 et al., μοῖρα κίχεν, κίχοι, θανάτου Callim. 1, 15, Mimnerm. 6, 2 (ἀάτη κιχήσατο Archil. fr. 73).

17 For the sense cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 69 (with Fraenkel's parallels), for the expression *P.V.* 379.

18 Perhaps οὐδέ]ν εὖσαν αἰτίην 'quite innocent'.

As far as I have observed the present participle of εἰμί in Early Ionic writers always has syllabic ἐ-, e.g. ἐών, ⏑ –, **2313** (Archilochus) fr. 10, 4 ἐοῦσ', ⏑ –, Archil. fr. 31. In Simon. Amorg. fr. 7, 54 παρόντα is not the right word and cannot be rescued by correcting the spelling. The scansion – (⏑) instead of ⏑ – (⏑) in our verse may therefore be a sign of lateness. It is to be remarked that Herodas has both ⏑ – and –, the second a good deal more often.

19 If there is no error, λᾱοῖσιν must be accepted. ληός, λᾱός, λεώς are all attested for Early Ionic. λᾱός is first found here. It is on all fours with ἵλᾱος (beside ἵλᾱος, ἵλεως), which is the form found in Archilochus and elsewhere, see Maas in GGN phil.-hist. Kl. i NF i 2 p. 58 and add to his examples **2310** (Archilochus), fr. 1 i 10, not metrically guaranteed, **2164** (Aeschylus), fr. 1, 25.

2321. Anacreon

The ascription to Anacreon of the compositions represented by the following scraps of verses in the Ionic dialect will hardly be disputed, whatever may be thought of the identification of fr. 1, 13 and fr. 2 with the ancient quotations, Anacr. fr. 157 and fr. 57. Only one is continuous enough to be instructive, fr. 1, which exhibits a form of three-lined stanza not otherwise exemplified among his remains. Even in this fragment and in fr. 4 (which contains one or more metrical puzzles) the sense can only be followed in snatches. This result is the more disappointing since, although a fair number of texts of old Ionic verse writers have made their appearance, no other except **2322** can reasonably be attributed to the same author.

The script, which varies in size in different fragments, is a rounded upright uncial which, like the very similar **2085**, I should not suppose later than the beginning of the second century, though P. Ryl. 551, which it also resembles, is ascribed by its editor to the later years of the same century. Among unpublished Oxyrynchus papyri are a Lycophron, an Aratus, and an Apollonius Rhodius, written, I believe, by the same copyist. There is a danger that some of the small fragments here assigned to the Anacreon may not properly belong to it.

Some of the lection signs appear to be original, but most are perhaps due to a subsequent hand, though in many instances it is not easy to decide.

Fr. 1

ουδε...[.]ς.φ..α..[...]..[
φοβερὰ δέχεις προσάλλωι
3 φρ̣'νας ὦ καλλιπρό[.]ωπε παίδ[
καισε δοκέειμενε[...']....[
πυκινῶς ἔχουσα[
6 α̣ππάλλειν·ς[.].[....]...[
τὰς υακιν[.....]ούρας[
'.]νακυπρις ἐκ..πάδνων
9 ....]'[.]α̣[..]α̣τέδησεν ἵππους[
.....]δε ῳμέσωι κατῆξας
.....]ωι διἄσσα πολλοι
12 ...]ι̣ητέων φρένας ἐπτοέαται
....]ὁρε λεωφόρη̣ρο[.]ἵμη ·

Fr. 1

οὐδε...[.]ς.φ..α..[...]..[
φοβερὰς δ' ἔχεις πρὸς ἄλλωι
φρένας, ὦ καλλιπρό[ς]ωπε παίδ[ων.
καί σε δοκέει μενε[...']....[
πυκινῶς ἔχουσα[
ἀ̣ντιάλλειν· ς[.].[....]...[
τὰς ὕακιν[θίνας ἀρ]ούρας,
ἵ]να Κύπρις ἐκ λεπάδνων
....]'[.]α[ς κ]ατέδησεν ἵππους.
.....]δ' ἐν μέσωι κατῆξας
.....]ωι δι' ἄσσα πολλοί
πολ]ι̣ητέων φρένας ἐπτοέαται.
λεωφ]όρε λεωφόρ' Ἥρο[τ]ίμη,

Fr. 1 1 The second letter after ε has a circular base, as of ε or the like Between ς and φ a trace of ink off the base line, perhaps a middle stop The second letter after α has a circular base At the end a stroke ascending from the line to the right 4 The second and fourth of the doubtful letters have circular tops, as of ε or the like; νοιει could be read 8 Above ε what looks like ι in the original hand 13 Anacr. fr. 157

Fr. 2

]λη̣γάρεις ·[
]ειν ·[
].ι. [
]ο̣ν [

Fr. 2

]λη γάρ εἰς·
]ειν.
]κι
]ο̣ν

Fr. 2 1 seq. Anacr. fr. 57? 3 Of κ only the upper right-hand branch, perhaps τ 4 Of ρ only the upper right-hand curve, perhaps ε

Fr. 3

Col. i Col. ii
].μ.[
] η̣δυτεκαιπ[
] αλλ'ερο̣εντα̣[
].τα̣ δωραπάρεστ[
5]ωτος π̣ε̣[ ]ερίδων·β[
] κα[.]χαρισιν·[
] δ'η̣[....]'.[.].[
].[

Fr. 3

].μ.[
η̣δύ τε καὶ π[
ἀλλ' ἐρόεντα̣[
δῶρα πάρεστ[
Πιερίδων, β[
κα[ὶ] Χάρισιν,[
δ' ἡ[....]'.[.].[
..[

Fr. 3 Col. i 2 Traces of a schol.
Col. ii 1]., a curved stroke on the line, e.g. ε .[, the base of a circular letter 7]ε̣ or]ο̣

[*Addendum.* I now see that fr. 11 joins above fr. 3 so that fr. 11, 5+fr. 3, 1 give: ..] ειδεμ.[Moreover, the newly-constituted fragment is shown by the vertical fibres to have stood above fr. 6 in the same column. The interval cannot be determined. The piece ending with the last verse of frr. 11+3 now appears as having been written ἐν εἰσθέσει. See facs.]

Fr. 4

]λε̣...δεπυκτάλιζ̣.[
]ανὀρωτεκᾱνακύπτῳ[
].ωιπολληνοφιλω [
]ῃχαρινεκφυγωνερωτα[
5]ῃυcεπ̣ᾱντάπαcι·δεcμ̣[
].χαλεπωνδιαφροδιτη[
]φέροι.ε̣νοινονάγγ.[
].εροιδ'ὕδω̣[.].λαφ.[
].εκαλέοι[..]ιν[
10]χ̣αριc·αρ̣τ̣[..]cδ[
].[

Fr. 4

χα]λε̣π̣ῶ̣.δεπυκτάλιζ̣.[
]αν ὀρέω τε κἀνακύπτω[
].ωι πολλὴν ὀφείλω
]ῃ χάριν ἐκφυγὼν ἔρωτα[
]ῃυcε παντάπαcι, δεcμ̣[ῶν
]. χαλεπῶν δι' Ἀφροδίτη[
]φέροι μὲν οἶνον ἄγγ.[
] φέροι δ' ὕδω[ρ] .λαφλ[
].ε καλέοι[..]ιν[
]χ̣αριc, ἄρ̣τ̣[..]c δ[
].[

Fr. 4 1 Between ω and δε a dot level with the tops of the letters 3]., the lower half of an upright followed by the right-hand tip of a cross-stroke level with the tops of the letters, π rather than γ or τ 7 .[, the left-hand side of a circular letter 8 Perhaps]π̣λ, but of π only two dots one above the other remain Or α̣[9]., possibly δ, but the traces are confused . 11 A loop, opening downwards, above the level of the letters; presumably a circumflex

Fr. 5

]υcτ̣[
]ῃθ[
]ω[
].ιδ[.].[
5]α̣cλε[
].ᾱν [
]

Fr. 5 The appearance of this scrap is consistent with a position in the same column as the next.
4]., the right-hand end of a cross-stroke a little below the level of the top of ι

Fr. 6

].....[
].oc·χαλ.[
].α̣χαροπο.[
]παννυχοcπετοιμην[
5]χθυοεντωνδελιπ[
].ρυcολόφου[[c]]παλλ̣α̣.[
].ηλόθεν.[
]νθεcιν̣β[
]ικίαδ'υψ[
10].ονὰε[

Fr. 6

].....[
].oc, χαλ.[
].α χαροπο.[
]πάννυχοc πετοίμην[
ἰ]χθυοέντωνδελιπ[
]χρυcολόφου Παλλάδ[oc
]τηλόθεν.[
ἄ]νθεcιν β[
]ικία δ' ὑψ[
].ονα̣ε[

Fr. 6 1 The bases of letters suitable to α or λ, ε or c, η or π, ο or c 2]., a trace on the line and another, level with the tops of the letters, to the right of it; ρ, τ, υ among the possibilities .[, a dot level with the tops of the letters, ε or ι possible 3]., the lower right-hand arc of a circle .[, ι or the first upright of ν 7 .[, the extreme top of a circle 10]., a stroke descending from left to right, perhaps δ or λ
See on fr. 3

Fr. 7

].α.[
]ωνβιον[
]λοκον̣τ̣α̣[
]αδυcποτ[
5]κερον̣ῃ[

Fr. 7 1]., the top of an upright .[, ο or c
5 Or perhaps π[

Fr. 8

].μαπ[
].αῖc [
].τον[

Fr. 8 2]., an upright touching α at the bottom

Fr. 9

]μερι̣μ[
]διτην [
]υμον[
]ἀνυcτ̣[
5].[

Fr. 10 vacant

Fr. 11

. . .
].[
]α·λε[
]πεc.[
]ννυχ[
5]ειδ.[
. . .

Fr. 11 5 .[, the bottom left-hand corner of a circular letter with traces of interlinear ink above, e.g. ὲ
See on fr. 3

Fr. 12

. . .
]κομ[
]νδρ.[
].[.].[
].νερ[
5]λεπ[
]νκτο[
. . .

Fr. 12 2 .[, η[or ι.[3 Rubbed

Fr. 13

. . .
].ραδα[
]αφρον[
]ένθα[
. . .

Fr. 13 1]., an upright with a hook to the right at the foot

Fr. 14

. . .
]ιφ̊cμερδ
]
]·
. . .

Fr. 1 Three-lined stanzas, *abc*, consisting of two anaclastic minor ionic dimeters, the first preceded by a long syllable, and a minor ionic trimeter with anaclasis between the second and third metres and catalexis. *b* and *c*, the second with anaclasis between the first and second as well as the second and third metres, occur in Bacchylides fr. 19 Sn. (leg. *cὺ δὲ cὺν χ.*), *c* in Corinna (BKT v (2) xiv. 1). The same form of clausula is found sporadically in Euripides (*Bacch.* 385, 536) and Aristoph. (*Wasps* 302). The three-lined stanza is exemplified among the previously extant fragments by 21 (*aab*) and 43 (*aab*, where *b* is a specialized variant of *a*) and by fr. 3 below (apparently *aaa*).

It is possible that lines *a*, *b* of this stanza should be recognized in Anacr. fr. 46.

2 *φοβεράc* 'timorous', as at Soph. *O.T.* 153, where the scholiast quotes Alcaeus (*Ἀμ.* 10, 6), and elsewhere.

πρὸc ἄλλωι I suppose 'as well', cf. L.–S. in *πρόc* B III.

3 *καλλῖπρόcωπε*: the short *ι* is abnormal, cf. *Ἀφροδίτη* Anacr. fr. 2, 3. *ἀνῦβριcτί* fr. 63, 5 is unacceptable on more than one count.

5 *πυκινῶc* presumably with *ἀτιτάλλειν* 'diddle', not 'cosset'.

7 seqq. 'The hyacinthine fields where Cypris tied up her horses released from the yoke' may be a reference to the hair, though *ἄρουραι* might also, I suppose, be used with a more specially erotic connotation.

ὑακινθίνας, if it means 'where hyacinths grow', may be compared with *λωτίνοιc . . . ὄχθοιc Σμ.* ē 4, 12 seq. In a comparison with hair (*Od.* vi. 231 = xxiii 158) it is interpreted as meaning either 'dark' or 'thick' or 'curly'. But I am not confident of knowing all its acceptations. What is the meaning of *ὑακινθίνηι ῥάβδωι* in Anacreontea 29, 1?

κατέδηcεν ἵππουc: after Homeric models. Two lines of supplementation are suggested by *Od.* iv 39 seq.

10 *κατῆξαc* from *κατάγω*, *κατάγνυμι*, even *καταίccω*?

11 *δι' ἄccα* 'wherefore' as *διὰ ταῦτα* 'therefore' Anacr. fr. 43, 4.

12 *ἐπποέαται*: with desire, cf., for example, Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* i 1232 seq. *φρένας ἐπτοίηcεν Κύπριc.*

Fr. 2 1 seq. At first sight the stop at the end of l. 1 is against the identification with fr. 57, but it is possible that the quotation has been carelessly made and that *ξείνοιcιν* depends not on *φίλη* but on some such word as *μέλειc* or *χαρίζεαι* preceding it. The papyrus, in that case, also had *πίνειν*, presumably *διψέωντα πίνειν* not *διψῶντα πιεῖν*.

γάρ εἰc. For the enclisis see on **2310** fr. 4, 4.

Fr. 3 The metres of Anacr. frr. 22, 30, 67, and 70 all begin with – ∪ ∪ – ∪, but the length of the last *α* in l. 3 is not determinable.

3 seqq. Perhaps *ἐρόεντα . . . δῶρα . . . Πιερίδων*, like Archil. fr. 1, 2 *Μουcέων ἐρατὸν δῶρον*.

Fr. 4 The general sense of ll. 1–4 seems to be: I was having a hard tussle but am now out of my difficulties and have to thank . . . for my escape from love. L. 4 looks as if it might be the last of a piece—it must, if *ἔρωτα* and not *ἔρωτα[c* is to be accepted, apparently be the last of a stanza—and ll. 1 and 4 correspond metrically, as far as they go, as would be expected, if the piece was composed in stanzas of three lines. On the other hand, the contents of ll. 5–6 do not appear to be at all incompatible with the hypothesis that they belong to the same composition as the preceding verses and metrical correspondence between ll. 1–3 and ll. 4–6 can be obtained by interpreting *διαφροδιτη[* as *δι' Ἀφροδίτη* not, for example, *δι' Ἀφροδίτη[ν*. As far as I can judge, l. 6 does not particularly look like the last of a piece, though l. 7 might well be the first. As there is no guarantee that three-lined (or only three-lined) stanzas are involved and as there is no certainty about the extent of the loss on the left, there is no point in carrying speculation further.

1 *πυκταλίζω* constructed with *πρὸc*+accusative in Anacreon fr. 62, 4 *πρὸc Ἔρωτα πυκταλίζω*, but verbs of 'fighting' admit also of the construction with the dative, e.g. *πολεμίζουcι θυρωρῶι* Anacr. fr. 52, and I should guess here *χαλεπῶι δ' ἐπυκτάλιζον* 'with a tough antagonist', though I cannot rule out *-πῶc* and *-ζε[*.

2 Though I have followed the MS. in transcribing *]αν ὀρέω*, in consideration of the position of *τε* I should much prefer *ἀνορέω*. It is doubtful whether there is any evidence of the existence of this word (*ἀνιδεῖν* is suspect at Aesch. *Choeph.* 808), but *ἀνέδρακε* (of a man coming out of a swoon, *Il.* xiv 436) and *οὐκ ἀναβλέψεcθε;* (of persons called on to take heart again, Eur. *H.F.* 563)[1] go to show that it might be found with the meaning 'breathe again', i.e. feel oneself out of a difficulty, particularly when associated with *ἀνακύπτω*, which besides being used of the attitude of one gazing upwards (Plat. *Rep.* 529 b) is used to mean 'get one's head above water, get out of a hole' (Hdt. v 91). The context as well as the position of *τε* seems to me to favour this interpretation. Still, I cannot deny the possibility of a stop in the sense after *]αν* followed by 'I see it and breathe again'.

2 *ὁρω*: the insertion of *ε* also at **2313** (Archilochus) fr. 1(*a*) 1.

3].*ωι*: some god?

Though I have said above that *πολλὴν ὀφείλω* and *δι' Ἀφροδίτη* could be conceived as corresponding, I must add that this is a desperate remedy, since the *α* of *Ἀφροδίτη* would naturally be scanned as short, if the *ι* of *δια* was long, thus producing the expected anaclasis. *πορφυρέη τ' Ἀφροδίτη* Anacr. fr. 2, 3, *Ἀ]φροδίτηι φίλοc* **2314** (Archilochus?) fr. 1 i 11.

Though there are examples of imperfect anaclasis to be found in minor ionics as written by later poets (Aeschylus apparently the earliest), none have hitherto been found in Anacreon, but whatever doubts may be aroused by l. 3, it is difficult to suppose in this metrical context that minor ionics are not to be recognized.

3 seq. Nothing is required to complete the sense, but a genitive could be inserted of that for which the thanks is owed. *]ν*, i.e. *-ω]ν* might represent this.

5 seq. I do not see what is being said and cannot judge between *]νῦcε*, say, *Διόνυcε*, and *]νῦcε*, say, *ἡνυcε*, not to mention other possibilities. The same helplessness prevents my choosing between *δι'*

[1] The construction here appears to be often misunderstood. *ἀναβλέψεcθε* is absolute, *φῶc* is governed by *δεδορκότεc*.

Ἀφροδίτης and δι' Ἀφροδίτην, though I think one of these is certainly present and not the alternative mentioned above.

παντάπασι: the earliest example. The previously attested earliest was in **2161** i 3 (Aesch. *Dictyulc.*).

7 seq. φέροι μὲν . . . φέροι δέ: cf. Anacr. fr. 62 φέρ' ὕδωρ, φέρ' οἶνον . . . φέρε δ(ὴ) . . . στεφάνους ἔνεικον, where, however, I had supposed, owing to the presence of ἔνεικον, that φέρε was the equivalent of ἄγε (δή) in Anacr. fr. 63, 1 and 7 (itself followed, at the first occurrence, by φέρε).

ἄγγ.: some form of ἄγγος is probable.

.λαφλ[, πλάφλ[αζον, i.e. πάφλαζον with the same misspelling as at **1234** (Alcaeus) fr. 2 ii 4, may be thought of, in spite of the abnormal scansion πᾰφλ-, which would have to be inferred. I think πλαφα[could be accepted and πλάφαζον would obviate the necessity of assuming error here. But the metathesis is not attested in this word (though similar metatheses could be adduced) and this explanation is inapplicable to the Alcaeus passage, where the metre requires παφλ-.

πάφλαζον 'bubbling', i.e. boiling. I should suppose, from its connexion here with wine, that the water was for drinking, but I must say with Cynulcus (Athen. 123) that I do not know εἰ ἔπινον θερμὸν ὕδωρ ἐν ταῖς εὐωχίαις οἱ ἀρχαῖοι. If the κελέβη, for which Anacreon calls (fr. 63, 2), was rightly equated by Pamphilus with the θερμοπότις (Athen. 475 d), perhaps, like the later Greeks and the Romans (for whose habit see Mayor on Iuven. v 63), they did. I doubt whether Simonides' remark, οὐ γὰρ ἔοικε θερμὴν βαστάζειν ἀνδρὶ φίλωι πρόποσιν (fr. 167, 5 seq.), in the circumstances in which it was uttered, rules the possibility out.

Fr. 6 3 The reading looks as if it would give rise to metrical difficulties, but I see no alternative.
4 πετοίμην: τί . . . πέτεαι; Anacr. fr. 9, 1.

Fr. 7 5 I should judge γλυ]κερόν probable (Anacr. fr. 43, 3), but τα]κερόν is possible (Anacr. fr. 169), and there are still one or two alternatives left.

Fr. 9 1 μεριμ[ν-
2 Prima facie the end of the line; if so, Ἀφρο]δίτην.

Fr. 14 As there remains no text, there is no certainty that this fragment is rightly assigned to the same MS. as the rest, but Smerdies is known as the name of a Thracian boy to whom Anacreon addressed verses, Anacr. frr. 48–49, cf. *Anth. Pal.* vii 27, Max. Tyr. xx 1, etc.

2322. Anacreon?

There are reasonable grounds for attributing to Anacreon verses in the Ionic dialect in a metre he is known to have employed and referring to a subject which can be plausibly identified with an episode about which he is known to have written. But some doubt must attach to the attribution so long as certain details are incompletely or unsatisfactorily accounted for. Anacreon, it may be added, seems not to have been often copied at Oxyrynchus, this being only the second manuscript, of which the contents may be assignable to him, to have emerged from that (or indeed, so far as I know, from any other Egyptian) site.

The hand is of the common angular type, resembling, for example, **1610**, and may be dated in the second or early third century. I am not sure whether the one or two lection signs and the corrections are due to the original writer or (at any rate, in part) to another.

Fr. 1

	] καικ[.] ςητοι[ ].αταβρον	καὶ κ[όμη]ς, ἤ τοι κατ' ἀβρόν
	]ˇ εσκια[.]...υχενα·	ἐσκία[ζ]εν αὐχένα.
	]× νυν.ε.ηςυμενςτολὸκρός	νῦν δὲ δὴ σὺ μὲν στολοκρός,
	] ηδες[[τ]]αυχμηραςπεσουεα	ἡ δ' ἐς αὐχμηρὰς πεσοῦσα
5	] χειρας.θρρα[[ι]]μελαιν'ἄν	χεῖρας ἀθρόη μέλαιναν
	] εσκονινκατερρυη	ἐς κόνιν κατερρύη
	] τλημον[.].τομῆιςιδηρου	τλημον[.]ς τομῆι σιδήρου
	] περιπεςο[.]...ωδαςηιςι	περιπεσο[ῦ]ς'. ἐγὼ δ' ἄσηισι
	]τειρο.αιτιγαρτιςερξη	τείρομαι· τί γάρ τις ἔρξηι
10	]μηδυπερ.ρη[[ι]]κηςτυχων[	μηδ' ὑπὲρ Θρήικης τυχών;
	]οικτραδηφρονεινακου[	οἰκτρὰ δὴ φρονεῖν ἀκου[
	]τηναριγνωτονγυναι[	τὴν ἀρίγνωτον γυναῖ[κα
	]πολλακις...ητ.δειπ[	πολλάκις δὲ δὴ τόδ' εἰπ[εῖν
	]δαιμοναιτιωμε[.].[	δαίμον' αἰτιωμέ[ν]η[ν·
		—]
15	]ςανευπαθοιμμητηρ [	ὡ]ς ἂν εὖ πάθοιμι, μῆτερ,
	]μ'αμειλιχονφερουεα [	εἴ] μ' ἀμείλιχον φέρουσα
	]οντονεςβαλοιςθυϊοντα[	π]όντον ἐςβάλοις θυίοντα[
	]ορφ[..]εοι.ι.υμα..[ ] [	π]ορφ[υρ]έοισι κύμασι[
	].[ ]..[ ]..[	].[ ]..[ ]..[
	. . . . .	. . . . .

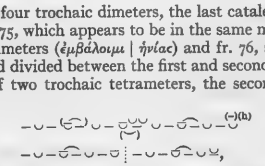
Fr. 1 The surface is rubbed in places so that the letters have completely disappeared or have left only shadowy traces 1 After οι the surface is broken off. There is room for a narrow letter between οι and κα but no evidence that one was written 3 δ(δε) is anomalous, the right-hand stroke, by which it is represented, being curved slightly outwards instead of being straight or curved slightly inwards 5 What I have taken for α[[ι]] might have been [[ν]]; there is a suggestion of an interlinear addition above which could be taken for η Over the last three letters signs to which I can attach no meaning 7 Of]ς only the flattened top 10 Between ρ and ρ a damaged letter which now looks like a sinuous upright hooked upwards to left at its foot ε is written on an original ι
15 Perhaps [[η]] should be written

Fr. 2

]...[
].ατα̣[
]κορον[
].τα..[
5]αμο..[
].νβ..[
].ην.[

Fr. 2 4]., the upper part of an upright trace level with the tops of the letters 5 ..[, perhaps ι, perhaps ρ with its loop lost, followed by a dot on the line 6 ..[, perhaps α or λ, followed by the upper part of an upright which may have had ink on its right 7]., an upright curving to left at the bottom .[, the lower part of a stroke rising to right After α what looks like part of a 'filler'; beyond it a

Fr. 1 Stanzas consisting of four trochaic dimeters, the last catalectic. This is the layout of the manuscript, but since Anacr. fr. 75, which appears to be in the same metre, has an example of hiatus between the second and third dimeters (ἐμβάλοιμι | ἡνίας) and fr. 76, stated by Hephaestion to be a tetrameter, an example of a word divided between the first and second, they should perhaps be more properly described as stanzas of two trochaic tetrameters, the second catalectic, and represented graphically as:



the bracketed signs recording information contributed by ancient quotations. The distribution of lines found in the manuscript may readily be accounted for by the inconvenient width of column that would result from strict attention to the metrical facts.

The first ten verses admit of a natural interpretation connecting them with a theme which Anacreon is known to have treated, the polling of a Thracian boy named Smerdies. The eight following, which are concerned with the distress of 'the famous lady', have no immediately obvious relation to this, but since the internal evidence seems to preclude the possibility that a new piece started with l. 11—the loss of the left-hand margin has unfortunately deprived us of what would have been conclusive external evidence—some relation there must be. I hope a better account of it will be found than that which I have suggested. It may be worth while to add that I see no chance of there being any relevance in the Parthenope–Metiochus story, though some details of that story are recalled by details found in the present text.

1 seq. Cf. Archil. fr. 29, 2 seq. ἡ δέ οἱ κόμη ὤμους κατεσκίαζε καὶ μετάφρενα.

3 νῦν δέ Anacr. fr. 75, 5; fr. 21, 12; fr. 72(?), to emphasize a changed state of affairs.

3 seq. σὺ μὲν I take to be a reference to Smerdies, ἡ δέ to his hair. στολοκρός 'polled', cf. Hesych. in v. στόλοκρον· τὸ περικεκομμένον τὰς κόμας καὶ γέγονε ψιλὸν εἴτε δένδρον εἴτε ἄνθρωπος κτλ. From Aelian, *Var. hist.* ix 4 (who recounts in some detail the episode posited on my view) it might be natural to conclude that Anacreon wrote only one poem reproaching Smerdies with having cut off his hair. Since Anacr. fr. 48, which is quoted with particular reference to this action, is in a different metre from these verses, either that conclusion or the interpretation now proposed must be rejected.

(With regard to Anacreon fr. 49 it may be pointed out that, if it is assumed to be part of such a trochaic system as we are here concerned with, there is no metrical necessity for and no metrical guarantee of the form σίοντα (instead of σείοντα), for which it is adduced. On the other hand, if it is part of an Ionic a minore such as frr. 47–48, it exhibits a different division of the line from the other three specimens which are all we have to show Anacreon's handling of this metre.)

4 seq. If Smerdies himself performed the operation (as Aelian l.c. implies), the hair would have come off into his hands; if he got a barber to do it, into the barber's. I do not see the point of αὐχμηράς

as applied to χεῖρας. It appears to me all the stranger as it is often applied to hair in the sense of 'staring, badly kept'.

5 seq. 'Fell in a heap on the ground'. I do not suppose there is any particular significance in the choice of the word κόνιν (as there is at Hom. *h. Herm.* 345); the 'ground' is commonly 'black', e.g. Hom. *Od.* xi 587, Archil. 56, 2 (μελαίνῃ κειμένους ἐπὶ χθονί), Eur. *Bacch.* 756 (ἔπιπτεν ἐς μέλαν πέδον, cf. 1065).

7 seq. τλήμον[ο]ς . . . σιδήρου would be acceptable (cf. Soph. *Trach.* 886 στονόεντος ἐντομᾶι σιδήρου), but I am not sure whether ο is as likely a supplement as ω in regard to the space to be occupied and τλημόν[ω]ς . . . περιπεσοῦσα is satisfactory enough. περιπεσοῦσα, no doubt metaphorically 'encountering, having suffered', but there seems to be a certain clumsiness in the conjunction of πεσοῦσα and περιπεσοῦσα.

8 ἐγώ: Anacreon himself.

9 'What is a man to do?' that is, 'What am I to do?' See Kühner–Gerth ii 221 or Goodwin, *M.T.* § 289.

10 One's first idea would, I suppose, be to look for a noun as the object of τυχών, but no noun is available beginning with ὑπερ and ending in ρηκη, and in any case what noun (of whatever form) would satisfactorily complete the question 'What is a man to do who has failed to get even a ——?' in this context? Although one can read the letter between ρ and ρ as θ only on the assumption that it has been greatly deformed by damage, it seems necessary to operate with ὑπὲρ Θρήικης. The ι written and later deleted—wrongly, if Thrace is meant—points in a way to this word, and since Smerdies was a Thracian, a mention of Thrace is not surprising. On this basis the sense may be elicited: 'What is a man to do who has failed' (to stop Smerdies cutting off his hair) 'even for Thrace's sake?' (Smerdies' own country) I can do no better.[1]

For τυχεῖν absolutely 'be successful' in doing what one sets out to do or gaining one's request cf. Pind. *Nem.* vii 11, Hdt. i 213, Thuc. iii 39, 8.

11 seq. If a new piece begins with l. 11, what interpretation can be given to the words τὴν ἀρίγνωτον γυναῖκα so that they refer to a precisely recognizable person? I see none but 'my' or 'thy' 'famous *wife*', according to the supplement adopted for ἀκου[. This result seems to me too absurd to be worth considering. I suggest, therefore, that the reference is back to l. 10; 'I hear that the famous lady is in the dumps', the famous lady being either Thrace personified or the eponymous heroine of Thrace, daughter of Oceanus and Parthenope. The objections, that in the one alternative the personification is introduced too abruptly, in the other that a being at least half-divine should not be classified as a γυνή, are serious, but I can offer nothing that seems to me more likely.

11 οἰκτρὰ φρονεῖν, though an example of a common type of locution, strikes me, for reasons I find it hard to express, as not quite on all fours with the other instances I have found, in most of which φρονεῖν appears to have some intellectual, not a purely emotional, content. The most nearly parallel case seems to be ἀταλὰ φρονέοντες *Il.* xviii 567.

φρονεῖν: I do not know whether there is any significance in the spelling. Similarly τελειν P. Lond. at **2313** fr. 10, 6, but -εει- is more usual, e.g. **2321** fr. 1, 4; **2313** frr. 8(*a*) 14, (*b*) 3; **2310** fr. 1 i 14; **2319** fr. 4, 13.

14 Cf. τὸν αὐτῆς δαίμον' ἀνακαλουμένη Soph. *Trach.* 912.

15 seqq. A grown woman may wish that she *had been* drowned as a babe in arms but there is something grotesque in her wishing that her mother would carry her to the sea and throw her in.

For the wish cf. Soph. *O.T.* 1411, for ἀμείλιχον . . . πόντον *h. Hom.* xxiii 8, for πορφυρέοισι κύμασι *h. Hom.* xxviii 12.

17 There are sporadic examples of the shortening of υι before a vowel (υἱος, -ον, -ε in Homer, ὀργυῖαιαν Callim. fr. 196, 43 Pf.), but I find no other instance of this scansion of θυίω (or of θύω with its υ shortened). ἀλύω (dialectally ἀλυίω) with υ both long and short is the nearest formal parallel I can adduce.

[1] It may not be amiss to add that I have considered ὑπερθήκης and I cannot rule out the possibility that ρ as well as ι was deleted. ὑπερθήκη, in the sense of 'postponement', is not attested but does not seem to be a less probable formation than προσθήκη, ἐπιθήκη, διαθήκη, &c., though perhaps more abstract in sense than the analogues. 'What is a man to do, when he cannot even get a postponement?' might be accepted, though to my feeling it is a rather weak climax. But the connexion of the following stanza with this is obscurer than ever.

2323. Hipponax

There is no difficulty in identifying the author of the following fragment, small as it is. The triple mention of Bupalus at once points towards Hipponax and the indication is confirmed by the coincidence noted in ll. 6–10. It would, therefore, have been better placed in vol. xviii but having been found too late may well accompany other Ionic pieces in this.

The text is written in a small angular hand of a common type on the back of a prose work, running in the opposite direction, of which there is too little left for its nature to be specified. This, the original contents of the roll, was apparently copied in the second century. The Hipponax may have been copied later in the same century or in the earlier part of the third. The lection signs and other additions are as far as I can tell by the same hand as the text.

. . .

].[

]ἡcαιτοκα[

].βουπαλω.[

]υβουπαλον[

5].ρ.τονκ[

].λλοθεν[ἄλ]λος ἄλ]λοθεν[

].ὀντεc.[ ]ελθόν]τεc.[

]ecτεκαλ[ ]ὀντεc]τεκαλ[

]ημουντ[παρε]κνημ]οῦντ[ο

10].ci.[ ]ων.[ ].ci.[

]ηκεβ[

]ατεῖλ.[

]αὐτικε..[

]ητεcεγγυ[

15]υπαλωικ.[

]δειμα.[

]τοτ[

. . .

2 There is a thin stroke through the c, which can hardly be meant to delete it, not accounted for 3]., apparently the right-hand ends of the upper and lower arms of κ .[, the lower end of a stroke descending into the following line, cf. ι in l. 15 5].ρ., the upper end of an upright before ρ, a tall upright with its tip bent to right after ρ; νοι may be intended, though ι is anomalous 6–10 **2174** fr. 27 7 .[, a dot level with the tops of the letters; a narrow letter might be lost between this and the preceding c 10]., the upper part of an upright .[, the lower part of a stroke

ascending with a slight slope to right, with a trace to its right; perhaps κ 12 .[, ε or possibly ο 13 ..[, the lower ends of strokes descending below the line, the second farther than the first 15 ι inserted, apparently by the original hand .[, perhaps only part of the lower arm of κ 16 .[, perhaps ο but part of the apparent ink is a worm-hole

2 -ἡcαιτο κα[a suitable articulation but not uniquely available.

3 If]κ, presumably a tmesis: ἐ]κ Βουπάλωι . . . .

6 seqq. Though the overlapping of **2174** fr. 27 and ll. 6–10 of this MS. will hardly be called in question, it is to be remarked that the positions of the first surviving letters of ll. 7 and 9 are, with reference to the preceding ll. 6 and 8, to right of their positions in **2174** fr. 27, whereas the position of the first surviving letter of l. 8 is, with reference to the preceding l. 7, to left of its position in **2174** fr. 27.

9 παρεκνημοῦντο is supplied on the strength of Hipponax fr. 130 Bgk. (ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπορεύοντο Tzetzes, cf. Hesych. παρεκναμενοῦντο· παρεπιπορεύοντο ἐπιπόνως), but there are alternative possibilities, e.g. the simple verb, ἐκνημοῦντο (· ἐφθείροντο Hesych.), the compounds with ἐκ (ἐκκνημοῦντες, cf. Callim. Ἴαμβ. iii 33, Hesych. in ἐξεκνημώθη) and διά (Hesych. in διεκνημώcατο), and no doubt others.

11 Perhaps]ηκε Β[ουπαλ- but there are other articulations to hand.

12 κ]ατεῖλε[or -λο[.

15 This collocation in Hipponax fr. 11 Bgk. Βουπάλωι κατηρῶντο.

[*Addendum.* I have now found a scrap, so badly rubbed that most of the letters must have remained doubtful, which stands to left of ll. 7–9. These verses may now be represented so:

7].. . .ὀντεc.[

].υφωντεcτεκαλ[

]αρε κνημουντ[

In l. 8 I cannot decide whether co might not be a more probable decipherment than ω.]

2324. Ionic Verses

Prima facie ends of iambic trimeters or trochaic tetrameters in the Ionic dialect. Written in a semi-cursive, which may be assigned to the second century, on the back of a piece of papyrus (on the front of which only enough remains to show that it once contained writing).

]ερτην[

]παῖc [

]απο [

].βα [

5].φε.[

. .

1 ἐμ]ερτήν?

2 πάιc: Archilochus guarantees πάιc (**2313** fr. 1(*a*) 6; ib. fr. 2, 2 the scansion is ambiguous) and apparently the vocative πάι, fr. 70. In Simon. Amorg. and Anacreon the vocative is παῖ (fr. 1, 1; frr. 1, 2; 4, 1; 62, 1; 63, 1) and there is no certainty about the nominative (Anac. fr. 21, 13). Hipponax appears to guarantee παῖc (fr. 38, 2).

2325. Ionic Verses

A scrap of indeterminable date written in a semi-cursive of the second century.

. . .
]ις
].βροτοις
].εννεφος
]πορευνεται
5].αιθερευς
].νκα.[
. . .

3]., perhaps the right-hand stroke of μ, but there appears to be some ink not accounted for below the right-hand end of the tail

2326. Scazons in Ionic Dialect

Nothing can be said of the following scrap except that the vocabulary and metre, so far as they go, are consistent with an early author, in which case one would first think of Hipponax.

The hand is a commonplace uncial with a few ligatures which may be assigned to the late second century and there is the end of a third-century letter on the back.

. . .
]εξι..[.].
]ου
]αιτρευντο
]αμεδαιυυντο
5].ουεμοχθουε
]το
]μουνοε
].πατηεαντων
]ριυθεντι
. . .

1 After ι the lower end of a stroke ascending to the right, followed by a dot on the line and the bottom of a circle]., perhaps ν 5]., the tail of μ or a similar letter 8]., perhaps η

1 ἐξίλλε[ι]ν is not strongly suggested but I cannot say it is an impossible reading.
3 ἐδεδ]αίτρευντο. The word appears to be epic and might therefore be in place in some such context as the piece represented in **2174** frr. 5–6, 8–9.
9 The variant would lead one to suppose that the division must be -ριν (or -ρην) θέντι.

2327. Early Elegiacs

Manuscripts of early elegiac writers have not been of frequent occurrence among the fragments recovered from Egyptian sites. Parts of nine lines of Archilochus have been identified in **854**. The contents of P. Berol. 11675 are attributed with fair reason to Tyrtaeus. **2327** seems to belong to the same category. The fragments assembled here have been picked out of a large collection written by one copyist, among which have been identified iambic trimeters (**2318**, possibly attributable to Archilochus), choral lyric (in part at least very probably attributable to Simonides), and a commentary on Alcman, apart from unidentified works which may lurk there, and the usual warning must be given that the selection may include both too much and too little. Where enough is preserved for recognition the text consists of elegiac couplets in a conventional Ionic. Frr. 1+2(*a*) i+3, which, if they are rightly associated, approximate most nearly to completeness of any part of the composition (or compositions, for the coronis under fr. 7, 2, though placed beside verses inserted in the upper margin, seems to imply that there were separate pieces), look as if the author might be speaking in person. At least, they contain first persons singular; others contain third persons, singular (frr. 2(*a*) ii 5; 6, 3) and plural (fr. 31 ii 6; cf. fr. 27 ii 16 seq.). But I see no clue to his identity. It may be worth while to recall that Simonides is known to have written elegiac pieces about battles of the Persian wars. If there may be elicited from fr. 27 ii a mention of a land-battle in which Persians and Spartans were engaged, this might be referable to his poem about Plataea (Simon. fr. 84; but the name of the Asopus can in no way be brought into relation with the letters at the beginning of l. 17). Similarly, if fr. 31 ii contains mention of a seafight, it might be referable to his poem about Artemisium or Salamis (Simon. fr. 83, whichever of the two was in elegiacs). But I doubt whether Simonides would be considered, if it were not for the fact mentioned above that there are Simonides fragments in the same hand, and where the field is so large and the prospect of verifying an ascription so small, nothing is to be gained by multiplying guesses.

The writing is an elegant upright uncial of a not uncommon type to be dated in the second century. The ink used for the text is of a sort that rubs off, so that in some tracts the letters have a greyish look. The original hand seems to have added a few variants and lection signs. Other additions appear to have been made subsequently, some perhaps by the same hand writing smaller and with less fugitive ink, some by a different pen. The notes, more cursively written, may also be due to one or other of these.

Fr. 1

. . . .
].δυναμαιψυ.[
].ρυϲωπινδεδικ[
].ουταπρωτιϲτανε.[
]μετερηϲειδογτερμ[
5]..[.]εονδελεφαντι[
]δεκνιφαδων[
].ϲηρυκε·νρ.[
. . . . 10

Fr. 2(*a*)
Col. i

].ουδ.περ[
]..[ ]μενοϲ
]πεφυλαγμενοϲε[.]ναιδπηδοϲ ·[
'..]ομαιαχνυμενοϲ .[ ]
]ωναπομηρω[ ]
]..εϊηϲ· [ ]
]ϲγετοφε[ ]ελεφαντίνεον
]δειν · [ ]
]υβριν .νεουδ.[ ].ι.
]νοι · απ ω επεβη[ ]
]οφυλλοιϲ
]· 'α.ρροποροιϲ· ·[
.α.[
]ιηι [
. . . . . .

Col. ii

]..ν
]ε.[ ]ευα.[
]κα[ ]εχε.[
] ο.[
οφρα.ε.[.].[
]π· κ
λειβειδε[[γ]]β.[
καικενεπ[
κεκλιμενοϲλευκ[
χαιτη[..]νχαριε[
.[ ] ευανθεαπλε[
μο[ ]διμεροενταλιγυν.[
αρτ.[.]νωμωνγλωϲϲανα[
(*b*) . . .
]τωνδε.[
π
] ἐυ·κ·ομ.[
. . .

Fr. 3

. . .
] [
ο
]..ιϲιθαλαϲϲηϲ [
].ουϲαπορον· [
]μενοϲενθαπεραν.[
5] [
]οιμμκελευθο[
].φανων[
]υ μ ν·
]δενδρονικο[
] [
. . .

Fr. 1 has been placed where it stands relatively to fr. 2(*a*) col. i because of the possibility that the marginal ελὲφαντίνεον (fr. 2(*a*) i 7) refers to ελεφαντι[(fr. 1, 5). The fibres certainly do not run across so that it would have to be assumed that there was a joint in the gap between them. Since there is a joint not very far away in fr. 2(*a*) col. ii, this assumption may not appear particularly likely but it is in no way impossible. For difficulties of supplementation which arise see the commentary

Fr. 3 looks as if it must be the lower part of fr. 2(*a*) col. i, but I cannot profess to identify the back fibres of the one in the other with complete certainty. The interval between them is indeterminable, but fr. 3 must be at a lower level than fr. 2(*b*), itself a detached fragment but located by both cross and vertical fibres

Fr. 1 1].[, two dots level with the tops of the letters, suitable to the tips of the arms of υ .[, two dots, one level with the tops of the letters, the other below it on the line, suitable to the tips of the left-hand arms of χ 2].[, a dot above the general level, compatible with the tip of the upper right-hand arm of a large χ 3].[, a dot above the general level compatible with the right-hand end of the top cross-stroke of ξ .[, the left-hand arc of a circle, ο rather than ω suggested *interl.* Before δι a sloping stroke, perhaps a dot intended but possibly part of a letter 5]..[, the tips of two strokes, the first apparently rising from left to right, the second descending from left to right 7 .[, perhaps the top of ο

Fr. 2(*a*) col. i 1 Between δ and π the foot of an upright on the line 3]πε represented only by the lower part of the second upright of π and the foot and end of the cross-stroke of ε 5 ρ apparently retouched 6]..[, the upper part of an upright followed by an apex, perhaps of δ or λ but θ may be possible, though the spacing appears to discommend it 9 *marg.* .[, the left-hand arc of a circle].[, the upper end of a stroke ascending from left to the top of ι 12 *marg.* 1 Between α (written larger than the rest) and ρ a trace compatible with the tip of the upper arm of κ 2 .[, an upright

Fr. 3 2]..[, perhaps three letters are represented; the last may be ο but this cannot be verified 3].[, a trace below the line 4 .[, the left-hand end of the loop of α would suit 7].[, the extreme lower tip of ε may be possible, but it is not particularly suggested. The foot of an upright would naturally be read

Fr. 2(*a*) col. ii and (*b*) 1 After ε perhaps the top and foot of ϲ After α perhaps ε or possibly ρ *interl.* The back of ϲ, or possibly ο, followed by a dot level with the tops of the letters, not ϲυ 2 .[, the top of an upright with a trace to its right; perhaps π 3 .[, an angle like the left-hand angle of φ but too high for this; hardly ξ 4 Between α and ϲ parts of uprights suggesting ν or π].[, prima facie χ but the surface is largely destroyed and there are many other possibilities 5 The first ι has been retouched 9 .[, the top of an upright 10 .[, the lower part of an upright 11 .[, the upper part of an upright .], in the interlinear space an upright in the same ink as the text. I do not think it could be the top of φ, which is in any case improbable 13 .[, the foot of an upright 14 .[, the middle part of an upright, but π not suggested

Fr. 4

]ανηϲον .[
]δηνξ̣α[
]. νχειρα[
]ντο̣ϲ̣α[
]ωνιμ̣[
]. δοϲεν[
]...[

Fr. 4 Prima facie the top of a column, but the fibres about ll. 4–7 continue those about fr. 2(*a*) ii 8–11 (to right of the joint)

1 .[, a stroke rising to right 3]., the right-hand arc of ο or ω 6]., a trace level with the tops of the letters 7 .[, the top of an upright above the general level, φ suggested

Fr. 5

]...[.].. [
]ηπιτυνε[[μ]]βηϲ[
]υλοτομοιδαμ[
]πολλονδ̣ὴ̣ρ̣ῶϲ[

Fr. 5 Beginnings of verses. There is a joint near the right-hand edge that occupies a position in the same relation to the left-hand alignment of the column as the joint in fr. 2 ii, but judging by the appearance of their backs I should doubt the possibility of their belonging to the same column. I cannot trace the fibres of fr. 3 across into fr. 5

1 Bases of letters which may be combined in various ways; the beginning might be παι

Fr. 6

]ο̣ϲλαο.[
]οκλου..[
]. μαϲϲενε.[
]ωνοϲχειρι[
]υ̣ϲαπ̣.[
]. παι·ϲ·ι[
]ριοκα.[
]. ερ
]ρμακ[
]. ε̣ϲαο.[
[.]

Fr. 6 There is a joint near the right-hand edge, but I can establish no relation between this and the others (visible or assumed) noted elsewhere

1 .[, an upright 2 ..[, perhaps the foot of ϲ followed by the start of a stroke rising to right 3]., a trace on the line, perhaps the tail of α .[, apparently the bottom left-hand angle of δ, but φ also possible 5 .[, a trace compatible with the top left-hand corner of ε or ο 7 .[, traces of an upright descending below the line 8 *interl.* The right-hand end of a cross-stroke touching the back of ε just above the middle 9]., the right-hand end of a cross-stroke ligatured to the top of ϵ .[, traces suggesting an upright

Fr. 7

] χω[
] κοι[
] ε̣υ[
]ϲ·α̣λ[
]να[

Fr. 8

] [
]χαειπ̣.[

Fr. 9

]αν.[
]. εν[

Fr. 9 1 .[, perhaps the left-hand upright of ν

Fr. 10

]ωγροι.[
]...]..[

Fr. 10 1 .[, a dot just off the line 2 Perhaps]ων[but the combination is uncertain and more than two letters may be represented *interl.* For χ perhaps υ

Fr. 11

]ερθο[
]. κηι[

Fr. 11 2]., the top of an upright, ν rather than η or ι

Fr. 12

]ν.[
]ψγ.[

Fr. 12 1 .[, an upright descending below the line, e.g. ρ 2 Of ψ only the upper part of the right-hand arm .[, the start of a stroke rising to right

Fr. 13

]..[
]. δ[

Fr. 13 1 The foot of an upright followed by a headless upright 2]., a stroke descending from left to right, δ suggested

Fr. 14

]λ.[

Fr. 14 .[, perhaps the back of ε, but too much damaged for verification

Fr. 15

]. ε̣ν[
] [
].[

Fr. 16

].[
]υτε[

Fr. 17(A)

]ν [
]πιη·ειν[

Fr. 17(B)

]ατοχαιτ[
]νη· ἑρ[

Fr. 18

]ντα[

Fr. 18 I think fixed by the fibres to right of fr. 30, 3. The interval cannot be determined

Fr. 19

Col. i

]
]
]ϥιτονα.ϥορῖνας λ[
]ε[
].ων απ̣ι̣ω ι̣π̣[
]ι̣κ̣[
]δ[

Col. ii

[
×[

Fr. 19 Col. i 2 marg. The ink after να suggests υ but two letters, one above the other, may be represented

Col. ii 4 For π other possibilities are perhaps γ and ρ 5 Of κ only the slightly concave upright

Fr. 20

Col. i

]κακ η βου λ .[
]ἀ[
]ἡ[

Col. ii

Fr. 20 Col. i mg. Perhaps not a damaged η but a compendium

Col. ii 1 The lower part of a slightly convex stroke; ε, θ, c, ο, ω and no doubt other possibilities

Fr. 21

] [
] .[
] κλύη[
] ω[
] .[

Fr. 21 Apparently the top of a column

1 A tall stroke inclining slightly to right 4 The upper end of a stroke descending to right

Fr. 22

] ..[
] των[
].[

Fr. 23

]νοι [
].θεα[.].[

Fr. 23 2]., the upper tip of a stroke apparently sloping a little to right, υ or χ rather than η, ι, or ν

Fr. 24

ὁιτ.[
κα[
.[

Fr.. 24 1 .[, the left-hand arc of a circle 3 The upper part of an upright; I should guess ω

Fr. 25

] ε[

Fr. 26

]ενη[
]δυη[
]οτε[
].λα.δ[

Fr. 26 2 Or possibly]φ π written on μ, apparently by the original hand 4]., a dot on the line Between α and δ the lower part of an upright; the spacing seems to indicate γ but I cannot rule ι out

Fr. 27

Col. i

].ον̣το [ ][
] [
]εκητι [
] [
]οιειν[
] ·ηρω[
] [
] [
]εμουσα [
] ·περ α^μ [
].δης
]
]αρ
] [
].c [
]α̣ ν εν ανθρωπ[
] [
] [

Col. ii

]θεα[
]ρεμ[
]πτρ̣[
]ετερη[
]κουφ[
θ[ ]πτολε[
τ.λ[ ]αρα[
οφραπομενμηδ[
] καιπερεων·δωρουδ[
]παιεικαιηρακλερ̣ε̣ς̣[
]δεπιεεπεδιον[
].ὠποιδέφ[.]ν[[ο]].[
]ρεστε[.].ντ[

Fr. 27 col. i 1]., the upper end of the upper arm of κ suggested; χ or υ seem to me less likely 9 Of ε only the right-hand end of the cross-stroke 11]., an upright 15 Or]., the first letter being represented in ink which has soaked through the now lost surface layer;]ε̣ι or]η suggested

Col. ii 12 The letter after τ is represented by the lower part of a loop which suggests α but that the tail should be visible; the only alternative, ο, is anomalous in sloping to right 17]., the right-hand end of a cross-stroke .[, an upright 18]., the top of a loop, ο suitable but ω and other letters not ruled out Of τ only the left-hand end of the cross-stroke

Fr. 28

. .
]φρ̣.[
]τρ̣.[
].[

Fr. 29

. .
]δεξ̣[
]εκρι̣[
. .

Frr. 28–29 I believed these two scraps were to be so joined that the ink in fr. 28, 3 formed the apex of the δ of which the base line is preserved in fr. 29, 1, but I now reject this hypothesis. To judge by the size of the initial letters fr. 28 contains the beginnings of verses, I believe of vv. 8–10 in fr. 27 col. i. Fr. 29 I should locate to left of vv. 14 seq. in the same col.

Fr. 28 1 .[, the middle part of the left-hand arc of a circle 2 .[, the upper part of a stroke starting above the general level and descending to right; not the normal λ, υ, or χ

Fr. 30

. .
].[
].ερ.[
].εκ.[
].[
. .

Fr. 30 See on fr. 18. Perhaps from the neighbourhood of fr. 27 col. ii

1 The lower part of an upright 2]., perhaps the left-hand stroke of δ .[, the lower part of an upright slanting slightly to right 3]., a cross-stroke ligatured to the top of ε .[, a dot slightly below the level of the tops of the letters 4 The top of an upright in the interlinear space, perhaps in a different ink from the rest

Fr. 31

Col. i . . . Col. ii . . .

]. λ[
] .[
]πι^ω^ μα.[
]χη.) [.]ω...[
5]ηc ∩ π̣ρ̣ντοβ̣ρ̣α[
] × πειθωντα[
] ωcυποcαλ[
] · παιcινμη[
] φρυξ[
10] φοινικω[
] ηλθ[
. . . . . .

Fr. 31 Darker than the rest

Col. i 1]., the lower right-hand arc of a circle

Col. ii 9 In an earlier copy I had ξιτ[but there is now no letter preserved after ξ

Frr. 1+2(a) i There is enough verbal congruity between the verses of which the beginnings and ends are preserved in fr. 1 and fr. 2(a) i 3–9 respectively to make it a reasonable working hypothesis, in spite of the absence of external confirmation, that they are related to one another in the manner shown, and I have accordingly in the following notes used the numbering of the lines of fr. 1 in referring to the corresponding lines of fr. 2. But the result of the collocation is still too incomplete and beset with ambiguities for me to be ready to state a view about its general tenor and I attempt no more than to set out the more obvious possibilities of restoration and interpretation of detail.

1 ο]ὐ δύναμαι ψυχ[may be accepted, but the alignment of ο with the χ of the next line would not be exact and some two-letter combinations might be admitted, if they afforded a preferable supplement. It must be remarked, however, that there are other examples of inexact alignment.

ψυχ[must be regarded as almost certain, but I cannot satisfy myself with any completion of the word that occurs to me.

πεφυλαγμένος ε[ἶ]ναι ὀπηδός. For πεφ., apparently 'wary', cf. *Il.* xxiii 343. For other perfect participles of similar character cf. *Od.* xvii 347, Hes. *Ἔργ.* 317, 500 κεχρημένν -ωι ἀνδρί, -ον ἄνδρα and more remotely *hy. Hom.* v 283 μυθεῖcθαι μεμνημένος. (Hes. *Ἔργ.* 706, 641, which have a similar appearance, seem irrelevant.)

2 χρυcῶπιν δὲ Δίκ[ην.

3 ἐ]ξ οὗ τὰ πρώτιcτα, presumably 'since the moment when . . .', as at *Od.* xi 168. The context does not appear to admit 'from which first'. But ξ itself is somewhat uncertain and a noun in the genitive is not to be ruled out.

Apparently νεο[with a v.l. διο[which, if not part of a compound, suggests νέος/Διός.

μηρῶ[ν seems unavoidable.]ων may be part of a qualifying adjective or the end of a participle.

4 Perhaps ἡ]μετέρης εἶδον τέρμ[α 'I saw (i.e. came to) the end of my . . .', but a context suitable to ὑ]μετέρης could also be thought of. Either supplement would project beyond the χ of l. 2 into the left-hand margin.

5 κ]υα[ν]εον would suit the indications. I should suppose that ελεφαντ[νεοντ' -εμ]cγετο followed, the marginal ελὲφαντίνεον being intended to preclude ἐλέφαντι νέον.

6 ἐκ νιφάδων[. . . ι]δεῖν: (as if) 'made of snow-flakes to see' (perhaps cf. **8**, 7) or 'to see (fair weather) after snow storms'? As I can form no idea of what is being said, I cannot judge between these guesses.

7 The marginal note appears to contain an alternative to νρρ[, for which νεο[cannot be read.

Fr. 2(a) i 11 seq. The marginal note on the following line appears to contain two variants, the upper ἀκροπόροις, of which the concord with φύλλοις suggests that there may be some connexion between them. It does not seem to me improbable that ἀκριτ]οφύλλοις and ἀκροπόροις occurred together as epithets of mountains. It is true that ἀκροπόρος 'with end that pierces, sharp-tipped' is not attested except as an epithet of ὀβελοί (*Od.* iii. 463) but the extension of meaning to 'sharp-topped' is not difficult and we should be in a position to account for the second variant by the conjecture ἀκ[ροπόλοις, which is a Homeric epithet of mountains (*Il.* v 523, *Od.* xix 205).

Fr. 3 2 -οιcι v.l. -οιο.

4 Apparently περάνα[c for which περήναc would be expected. Similar contraventions are to be found in the MSS. of Herodotus. 'Having finished' my journey? περήcαc would apparently have been easier to understand in the context.

8 Perhaps εὔ-, or possibly πολύ-, δενδρον with a v.l. -υμνον, of, say, a τέμενος.

Fr. 2(a) ii+(b) A description of a feast.

5 In the context λείβει seems more suitable than λείπει and I cannot follow the sense of the variant.

9 εὐανθέα . . . [cτέφανον with some part or derivative of πλέκω. πλεξάμενος middle *Od.* x 168, Aristoph. *Lys.* 790.

11 Presumably some compound of ἄρτιος, e.g. ἀρτιεπέα, but this does not account for the interlinear ink.

14 No doubt εὔκομπ[with a v.l. εὔπομπ[but π[cannot be verified.

Fr. 5 2 seq. Perhaps a simile, as, for example, at *Il.* xiii 389 ἤριπε δ' ὡς . . . δρῦς . . . ἠὲ πίτυς . . τήν τ' οὔρεσι . . . ἐξέταμον. ἐν βήσ[σῃ, or ἐν βήσ[σης', say, οὔρεος cf. *Il.* xvi 766.

δαμ[ν- with a v.l. ταμ[ν-. The first, 'lay low', does not appear to occur elsewhere in this connexion.

ὑλοτόμον . . . ταμεῖν Hes. *Ἔργ.* 807.

4 I can give no reasonable account of the last part. There is no indication that the accents are intended to be alternative and likewise none that η is intended to be alternative to, or, on the other hand, a correction of, ω.

Fr. 6 The even numbers appear to be the pentameters.

2 μοκλός is attested as used by Anacreon though not otherwise Ionic for μοχλός (Zonar. 1512).

Fr. 8 μώνυ]χαεἵπτ[ους

Fr. 10 1 I call attention to the possibilities ζ]ωγροι .[, a part of ζωγρεῖν, and a case of ἀγροιώτης with its article, but others can be thought of.

Fr. 19 i 2 It is easy to suggest τὸν δ' ὑπὸ ῥῖνας but I do not think that it can be supposed that δυ was written. Perhaps what is meant is that N. upheld the reading ῥῖνας with να not, for example, ῥινός with νο.

Fr. 21 2 κλῦ- is suspect but I cannot assign the scrap to any of the other MSS. in the same hand.

Fr. 27 col. ii 13 seq. It seems probable that Medes and Persians were here mentioned together. If this implies that their unification by Cyrus had taken place, a *terminus post quem* is furnished for the author of these verses.

Περσῶν: -σέων would be expected. A similar indifference to the dialectal form is seen occasionally elsewhere, e.g. in the MS. of Theognis.

14 seq. I infer from the plural παισί that the Peloponnesians are meant. If the reference had been specifically to Aegimius and Hyllus, the natural way of expressing this would have been παιδί.

16 οἱ] δ' ἐπεὶ ἐς πεδίον, but οἱ would project to left beyond π in l. 15.

17 εἴ]σωποί seems the only available supplement, but again there would have been some projection.

The accentuation δέ is puzzling. Objections can be brought against δέ φ[ι]ν and δ' ἔφ[α]ν (and δ' ἔφ[α]νεν, which in any case is hardly a possible reading of the ink).

Fr. 31 col. ii 5 ποντοβόης (here, I infer, in the plural) is unattested as a common noun or adjective and it is not easy to attach a meaning to it. The nearest parallel I can think of is Pindar's πεζοβόαις *Nem.* ix 34. It is not known as a proper name, either.

7 σάλ[πιγγος.

2328. Glossary

If νηλείτης points to a verse text as the basis of the following scrap of a word book, ἀπεσκολυμμένους and συκοτραπέζωι point to something of an iambographic character. I have no better grounds than these for including it with remnants of Ionic verse in this volume.

The hand is a well executed specimen of an informal type having affinities with **225**, **1619**, **1620**, Schubart, *Pap. gr.* 30*b*, P. Ryl. 484, and assignable to the end of the first or the beginning of the second century.

Col. ii

. . .
]..κψυ[
] [

Col. i		Col. iii
	]....[.].[ ] καρ [	
	]νηλειτης αναμαρτητ..[	. . .
5 . .	] τουσαπεσκολυμμενους	ε̣.[
].	τουσκεκακουχημενους·	εμπαλλα..[
]	συκοτραπ̣ε̣ζωι[ ]μηεχον	ταραγμεν[
]α και	τι̣[.]ρτορ̣αλλαδιενδειαι̣.	μυς[ ] η..[

Col. ii 4 seq. The right-hand ends are obscured by blots 5 Above (ν)ους there seems to be an interlinear note, apparently θοιτ...

Col. iii 6 After λα the lower part of an upright 8 After η a trace suitable to the top of ι, followed by the left-hand side of γ

Col. ii 4 νηλείτης· ἀναμάρτητος. Add this place and P. Med. 17 ii 8 (commentary on Antimachus) to the older lexical evidence: schol. *Od.* xvi 317, schol. *Od.* xix 498, Et. Mag. in νηλήτεις, Suid. in νηλιτής, Hesych. in νηλητεῖς.

5 I should have expected this line to start from the same alignment as ll. 4 and 7.

ἀποσκολύπτειν is much more commonly explained as 'circumcise' than 'castrate' but κεκακουχημένους, though colourless, seems to imply the second rather than the first, as do the interpretations κολοῦσαι, κολοβῶσαι of the uncompounded verb (attested only in Hesychius) σκολύψαι. The word is quoted as a ποιητῶς εἰρημένον from Archilochus (fr. 124).

(It is of interest that Hesychius both lists the word as a gloss, ἀπεσκολυμμένον (in ἀποσκόλυπτε) περιτετμημένον τὸ αἰδοῖον, and employs it to explain the glosses λομβούς and ψωλόν. This suggests the possibility that a gloss has been mistakenly omitted before τοὺς ἀπεσκολυμμένους but any word now prefixed would project anomalously into the left-hand margin.)

7 συκοτραπέζωι is unattested. The same meaning, μὴ ἔχοντι ἄρτον ἀλλὰ δι' ἔνδειαν ⟨σῦκα τρώγοντι⟩, is attached by Eustathius to συκοτραγίδης, which he quotes from Hipponax and Archilochus (1828, 11).

Col. iii 6 Apparently some case of ἐμπάλαγμα (the double λ is similarly found in the corrupt παλλαγμάτων, Aesch. *Suppl.* 296), which is explained as ἐμπλοκή (Hesych.), περιπλοκή (schol. Aesch. l.c.). But ⟨τε⟩ταραγμέν[here points to a somewhat different meaning. ταράσσειν, as well as βρέχειν, μολύνειν, is given by Hesychius as a meaning of παλλάσσειν.

2329. New Comedy[1]

11·6 × 20 cm. Late second–third century·

A number of fragments written along the fibres in a broad, angular hand with a slight slope to the right (cf. **2208**) which together compose the major part of a single column; the only uncertainty about their relative positions is whether ll. 20 seq. follow directly upon l. 19, but in any case the gap cannot have been large. The first hand is responsible for the punctuation, apostrophes, the correction in l. 12, and for the paragraphus below l. 4.

It is likely that the first scene ends with two of the characters leaving the stage together, after some hesitation; then enter in conversation a young man, attended by his slave, and his mother to whom he proceeds to make a confession. After a brief dialogue followed by some lines of which the construction is not clear, the slave is left alone soliloquizing. The papyrus ends with him preparing to leave or conceal himself before the imminent arrival of the watch. The style of the fragment is lively and elegant; there is no clue to authorship.

The verso is blank.

[1] As will be abundantly clear from the notes, I am much indebted to Professors Fraenkel and Maas for their assistance.

εχ᾽ησυχ[...]τιμικρον·αλλαγωνιω
νητονδια[.]ο̣νμεγ..τ.γουκανθρωπιν[
αγαθητι.[.]ηι·νυνκαιροσορμαν·με.[
τωνενθα̣.ιγαρπαραμελησειν̣μοιδοκ̣.[
5 οπερλεγ.[.]δημαμμια·ματουσθεους
ουκεδυν[.]μηνσοιταυταπολλακισφρ[
βουλομε[.]οσαλλησχυνομην[
[...]μηρ[..]μεγιστονεσ[
[.....]ητοσμοισυνα[
10 [.....]ητοστηναδ[
[....]..[...]εταυθ·ιναφ[
ε̣μοιδε[.]υμπρατ̣ζ̣τωσινοδ̣[
ὕπεναν̣τιονπεποηκεπε̣[
.αιννυα̣[.]εγαμουνειδυ[
15 [..]υλειλα[..].ν·τηντησκλε[
[.]αιτοιγ.χειτοπροσωπον[
μι[..]ημερανδεῖναιθ᾽ὕπεν[
[.....]α̣ν·νυνδεκε̣[
[.....]κ̣ημ᾽ε̣ρ̣[
. . . . . .
20 [.....]κφανε̣[
[.....]υναισχρονε[
[...]ψ..β[....]τιμα̣κραδ̣[
[.]ητερατοι̣[..]τ̣ην.ουδεπρ̣[
[..]ναινομιζ[..]πραοτητι·τ[
25 [..]μ̣συμπονε[..]οδρομων·δε[
[..]ψμενφυλακηνορωγα[
[..]ωι·τυχονζητειμ᾽·ακηκ[
[.....]γαρενδιετριψα̣[
]᾽ητ[
. . . . . .

3 με̣χ[or (slightly less likely) με̣λ[4 either [.]ρι or δι (Maas); ε, ρ, or ω possible at end 5 after λεγ either ωδη or ε[.]δη possible 8 or]μηρ[...] if two of the missing letters are small. 12 at end δ, υ, or λ 19 for]κ,]ψ possible 20 at end τ possible for ε 22 for]ψ,]ρ possible

A ἔχ' ἡσύχ[ως ἔ]τι μικρόν.
B ἀλλ' ἀγωνιῶ,
νὴ τὸν Δία [τ]ὸν μέγιστον, οὐκ ἀνθρωπίν[ως].
A ἀγαθῇ τύ[χ]ῃ· νῦν καιρὸς ὁρμᾶν· μέλ[λομεν·]
τῶν ἐνθαδὶ γὰρ παραμελήσειν μοι δοκῶ.
Γ ὅπερ λέγω δή, μαμμία· μὰ τοὺς θεούς,
οὐκ ἐδυν[ά]μην σοι ταῦτα πολλάκις φρ[άσαι]
βουλόμενος, ἀλλ' ἠσχυνόμην.
Δ [
[τεκ]μήρ[ιον] μέγιστόν ἐσ[τι
Γ [ἀπροσδόκ]ητός μοι συνα[ντᾷ
Δ [ἀπροσδόκ]ητος;
Γ τὴν ἀδ[ελφὴν
[....]..[...]ε ταῦθ'· ἵνα φ[
ἐμοὶ δὲ [σ]υμπράξωσιν· ὁ δ[ὲ
ὑπεναντίον πεπόηκε πε[
καὶ νῦν ἄ[ν] ἐγάμουν εἰ δυ[
[..]υλει λα[βε]ῖν.
Δ τὴν τῆς Κλε[
[κ]αίτοι γ' ἔχει τὸ πρόσωπον [
Γ μί[αν] ἡμέραν δ' ἵν' αἴ θ' ὑπεν[αντ
[.....]αν· νῦν δὲ κε[
[.....]κημ' ἐσ[
[..... ἐ]κφανε[
[.....]υν αἰσχρόν ἐ[στι
[...]υ..β[....]· τί μακρὰ δ[εῖ λέγειν;]
[μ]ητέρα τοι[αύ]την οὐδέπο[τε
[εἶ]ναι νομίζ[ω] πραότητι· τ[οιγαροῦν
[δε]ῖ συμπονε[ῖν] ὁ Δρόμων· δε[
[τη]ν μὲν φυλακὴν ὁρῶ γὰ[ρ
[..]ωι· τυχὸν ζητεῖ μ'· ἀκήκ[οα
[.....] γὰρ ἐνδιέτριψα [
[.....]'ητ[
. . . . . .

8–10 suppl. Fraenkel

1 On grounds of space ἡσύχ[ως is more likely than ἡσυχ[ος.

3–4 There can be no doubt that Maas's suggestion ἐνθαδί is correct, even though we must assume that this δ was slightly different in form from those found elsewhere in the fragment. Jensen in the index to his *Menandri Reliquiae* comments that when ἐνθαδί is found in Menander it is always at the end of the line; but (as Maas points out to me) it has since occurred in a medial position in the Θεοφορουμένη (Page, *Greek Literary Papyri* i 55, l. 15). μέλ[λομεν, if correct, is parenthetic.

5 I have not noticed any other papyrus in which the paragraphus is used *exclusively* (as seems to be the case here) to mark a break in the action or a change of scene, and not as well a change of speaker; but it is so frequently used in prose authors for a similar purpose that it need create no difficulty. I have tentatively divided the lines between two speakers only, but the slave, Dromon, whose soliloquy begins probably in l. 22, may have intervened earlier in the dialogue.

μαμμία: cf. Ar. *Lys.* 878, 890; this is its first occurrence in New Comedy.

7–8 [χρηστοῦ τρόπου] and ἐσ[τι τοῦτό γε Fraenkel, *exempli gratia.* [τεκ]μήρ[ιον]: in this hand iota and omicron together occupy the space of one average letter.

9 Perhaps συνα[ντῇ followed by συμφορά or τις τύχη (Fraenkel), or τις κόρη.

14 Perhaps δυ[οῖν (Maas).

15 Perhaps βο]ύλει; probably we should assume a change of speaker in this line (possibly also an aposiopesis); we might supply, *exempli gratia*, Κλε[οβούλης θυγατέρα.

24 εἶναι; there is not room for φῦναι.

25–27 For the interpretation of l. 25 I am indebted to Maas. The slave addresses himself, as he might be addressed by his master, in the third person; for the use of the nominative with the definite article in place of the vocative cf. Theocr. 4. 45 seq. (with A. S. Gow's note ad loc.), Ar. *Ach.* 242, and Kühner–Gerth, § 356. 4 seq. But in none of these passages is the speaker addressing himself, and to this extent there is no parallel to the present passage. For a slave's soliloquy in New Comedy cf. P.S.I. x 1176 (as interpreted by Maas, op. cit., p. xvii; this interpretation is ignored in the re-edition of the fragment in Page, *Greek Literary Papyri* i 61). Both considerations of space and the traces before Δρόμων which do not suit ε forbid the obvious [δε]ῖ συμπονε[ῖν] σ]ε Δρόμων. Fraenkel suggests reading κα]ὶ συμπονε[ῖ β]ο⟨η⟩δρομῶν; not only does this involve an emendation of the papyrus, but βοηδρομεῖν is a tragic rather than a comic word, and in sense adds little to συμπονεῖν. This reading would carry with it a quite different interpretation of the scene.

Fraenkel suggests, *exempli gratia*, δέ[δοικα γάρ,] in 25 and [ἐν προαυλίωι | ἐμ]ῶι in the following lines.

φυλακή in this context must mean *the watch*; I can find no evidence for the existence of such a body (whether known by this name or by a more technical term) at Athens in the later fourth or third century, but in the state of our knowledge this is not surprising. For the little that is known of Hellenistic police services elsewhere see A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City*, pp. 211 seq., and article 'Police' in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*; analogy might suggest that the φυλακή here were night constables (cf. the νυκτερινὸς στρατηγός at Alexandria).

2330. Ctesias, *Persica*

8·7 × 18·2 cm. Second century A.D.

One complete column written along the fibres in a small cramped hand reminiscent of the British Museum Herodas, though somewhat more elegant.[1] The text is

[1] The occasional abrasion of the surface and the cramped character of the hand make it in places difficult to read. I have to thank Professor Maas for checking and at times improving my readings.

carefully written with stops and a correction (l. 22) in the first hand. Pauses are also occasionally indicated by spacing.

The story of Zarinaia (Zarina), Queen of the Sacae, her war against the Median invader, Struangaius, his capture and subsequent release of the queen, and their romantic attachment is known to have been described by Ctesias (ed. Gilmore vi fr. 20–21, p. 109). There is a brief reference to it in Tzetzes (*Hist.* xii 894)[1] and a fuller account in the anonymous *De Mulieribus quae bello claruerunt* as follows : *Ζαρινάία. Αὕτη, τελευτήσαντος τοῦ προτέρου ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς καὶ ἀδελφοῦ Κυδραίου Σακῶν βασιλέως, ἐγαμήθη Μερμέρῳ τῆς Παρθυαίων χώρας δυνάστῃ. Τοῦ δὲ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἐπιστρατεύσαντος πολεμοῦσα καὶ τρωθεῖσα ἔφυγε, διωχθεῖσα δὲ ὑπὸ Στρυαγγαίου ἱκετεύσασα διεσώθη. Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὑποχείριον αὐτὸν ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς λαβὼν ἐβούλετο ἀνελεῖν, ἡ δὲ δεομένη σῴζειν καὶ μὴ πείθουσα, λύσασά τινας τῶν ἑαλωκότων, σὺν αὐτοῖς τὸν Μέρμερον ἀνεῖλε καὶ παραδοῦσα τῷ Πέρσῃ τὴν χώραν φιλίαν ἐποιήσατο πρὸς αὐτὸν [ὡς ἱστορεῖ Κτησίας].* Diodorus (ii 34) gives the queen's name as *Ζαρίνα* and while expatiating on her reign omits the romantic story altogether. Nicolaus of Damascus rewrote and elaborated the account he found in his source; the fragment preserved (Jacoby, loc. cit.) contains his rewriting of the very letter preserved in **2330**; verbal resemblances are comparatively few (see quotation in note to l. 2). Finally, Demetrius in a discussion of Ctesias' style (*De Eloc.* §§ 212 seq.) gives a brief résumé of the story and then quotes Struangaius' letter *ἐγὼ μὲν σὲ ἔσωσα, καὶ σὺ μὲν δι' ἐμὲ ἐσώθης· ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ σὲ ἀπωλόμην* which, apart from the intrusive *μέν* in the second clause, tallies exactly with ll. 7–9 of the papyrus.[2] On the strength of this we are entitled to regard the papyrus as containing not another rewriting of the story but the text of Ctesias. The style of the fragment, the longest continuous piece of Ctesias' *ipsissima verba* extant, though its simplicity may seem affected and false, does bear out the reputation given him by ancient critics, e.g. Demetrius (*σαφής τε καὶ ἀφελὴς λίαν*) and Photius who praises him for his *ἐναργεία*. Ionic influence is noticeable for its absence in **2330**[3] and Jacoby's comment (*RE* xi 2064) that he represents the transition from literary Ionic to literary *koinē* is, judged by this specimen, an understatement; it was, however, already known that Ionisms

[1] All the passages cited will be found in Gilmore's edition of Ctesias, *Persica*, pp. 107–11; in quoting Nicolaus of Damascus I have followed Jacoby's text (*FGH* ii A, 90, 5(12), p. 335).

[2] In his edition (Cambridge 1902) of the *De Elocutione*, W. Rhys Roberts treats not merely this sentence but the whole résumé as a quotation from Ctesias. The passage runs as follows (Demetrius is defending Ctesias against charges of garrulity and repetitiveness and remarks that repetitions can give force to a narrative): *οἷα τὰ τοίαδε· Στρυαγγαῖος τις, ἀνὴρ Μῆδος, γυναῖκα Σακίδα καταβαλὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου· μάχονται γὰρ δὴ αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν Σάκαις ὥσπερ αἱ Ἀμαζόνες· θεασάμενος δὴ τὴν Σακίδα εὐπρεπῆ καὶ ὡραίαν μεθῆκεν ἀποσῴζεσθαι. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο σπονδῶν γενομένων, ἐρασθεὶς τῆς γυναικὸς ἀπετύγχανεν· ἐδέδοκτο μὲν αὐτῷ ἀποκαρτερεῖν· γράφει δὲ πρότερον ἐπιστολὴν τῇ γυναῖκι μεμφόμενος τοίανδε· ἐγὼ μὲν κτλ.* That this is Demetrius' own narrative is obvious (*a*) from the account in Nicolaus and the other authorities who make it clear that Ctesias handled the story in greater detail than this, e.g. there is no mention of Zarinaia's husband or Struangaius' wife; (*b*) from the absence of the introductory epistolary formula; (*c*) because in the next paragraph where Demetrius is analysing Ctesias' style he discusses solely the one sentence *ἐγὼ μὲν κτλ*; (*d*) because in § 216 where Demetrius again introduces his own résumé he begins with the words *οἷον καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοιοῖσδε* and again ends with a quotation.

[3] But cf. *ἀνθρώποισιν* (l. 15) and note to l. 16.

were more frequent in the *Indica* and at the most were incidental.[1] The new fragment enables us to see how useful a model Ctesias must have provided for the novelists and fully bears out Jacoby's judgement (loc. cit. 2045) that he was in fact the father of the historical romance.

[.]α.σ.[.].λε.απαψ̣ψ.τ̣ε̣σ δ ε̣[σ]
τ̣ιν οτι αγο̣ς̣ ενελειπες ο δ ει
πεν φερε το γουν πρωτον
[γ]ραμματα̣ [γ]ραψ̣ω προς Ζαρει
5 ε̣αι̣α̣ν· κα̣ι γραφει· Σ̣τ̣ρ̣υ̣α̣γ
γαιος Ζαρε[ιεν]αιαι ουτω λεγει
εγω μεν σε εσωσα και συ δι ε
με εσ[ω]θης· εγω δε δια σε α̣
πω̣[λ]ρμην και απεκτεινα
10 αυτος εμαυτον· ου γαρ μοι συ ε
βουλου χαρ[ι]σασθαι· εγω δε ταυ
τ̣α τα κα̣κ̣α και τον ερωτα τ̣ο̣ν̣
δ̣ε ουκ αυτος ειλομην· ο δε θεος
ουτο[ς] εστιν κοινος και σοι και
15 α̣π̣α̣σ̣ι̣ν ανθρωποισιν· ὅ̣τ̣ω̣ι
με̣ν ουν ειλεως ε̣λθ̣ηι· πλει
σ̣τ̣α̣ς γε̣ ηδονας δ̣ι̣δ̣ω̣σιν· και αλ
λα πλειστα αγαθ̣α̣ ε̣π̣οιησεν αυ
τ̣ον· ο̣τ̣ω̣ι̣ διοργιζ̣ομενος
20 ε̣λθ̣η̣' ο[ιον]περ εμοι νυν· πλει
στα κ̣[ακα ερ]γασαμενος το τελευ
ταιον προριζ̣ον απωλεσεν ρρ
και εξ̣ε̣τ̣[ρ]ε̣ψ̣εν· τεκμαιρομαι
δε τωι εμωι θανατωι· [ε]γω
25 γαρ σο̣ι̣ κ̣α̣τ̣αρασομαι μεν ου
δεν ε̣π̣ευξ̣ομαι δε σο̣ι̣ την
δικαιο[τ]α[τ]η̣ν ευχην· ει με̣ν
συ εμε [δ]ι̣κ̣[α]μ̣α̣ εποιησας. πολ

[1] Cf. the passages assembled by Gilmore (pp. 4 seq.) and especially Photius (Bibl. 72): *κέχρηται δὲ τῇ Ἰωνικῇ διαλέκτῳ εἰ καὶ μὴ δι' ὅλου κάθαπερ Ἡρόδοτος ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐνίας τινὰς λέξεις.*

'. . . because you left . . .'. He said: 'Come, as a first step at any rate I will write a letter to Zarinaia.' He wrote: 'Struangaius speaks thus to Zarinaia: I saved you and it was by me that you were saved. But I have been ruined by you and have killed myself, because you were unwilling to grant me your favours. I did not of myself choose these evils and this passion, but this god is one in whom you and all mankind share. Now to whom he comes in gracious mood, to him he offers countless pleasures, and countless other benefits he confers upon him. But whomsoever he visits in anger, as he visits me now, on him he works countless evils and ends by destroying him root and branch and overthrowing him. This I infer from my own death. For I will call down no curses on your head, but will make this prayer on your behalf, the fairest that can be: if you had acted justly by me . . . .'

1 The speaker may be the king's eunuch who plays a part in Nicolaus' version.

2 *αχρς*; *αυτο* is not possible as the first stroke of the letter following *α* is an upright.

Nicolaus' version from this point onwards is as follows: *ἐγέγραπτο δέ, Στρουαγγαῖος Ζαριναίᾳ λέγει τάδε· ἐγὼ μέν σε ἔσωσά τε καὶ τῶν νῦν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος γέγονα· σὺ δέ με ἀπέκτεινας καὶ πάντων ἀνόνητον πεποίηκας. Εἰ μὲν οὖν σοι ταῦτα πέπρακται δικαίως, σύ τε πάντων τύχοις τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ εἴης μακαρία· εἰ δὲ ἀδίκως, σύ τε τοῦ αὐτοῦ πάθους ἐμοὶ πεῖραν λάβοις· σὺ γάρ μοι παρήνεσας τοιοῦτον γενέσθαι. ταῦτα γράψας ὑπὸ τῷ προσκεφαλαίῳ τίθησι, καὶ εἰς ᾅδου ἀπίων ἀνδρείως τὸ ξίφος ᾔτει· ὁ δὲ εὐνοῦχος . . . .*

5 The MS. of Demetrius (§ 213) calls him *Στρυάγλιος*.

12 The purpose of the line above *τον* is not obvious; perhaps *τσ̄* was intended.

16 The use of the subjunctive without *ἄν* may perhaps count as an Ionism; it is frequent in Herodotus (see Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses* § 540) and occurs in the later *koinē* (see Blass–Debrunner, *NT. Grammatik*[7] § 380, 4).

19 The *ω* of *οτωι* is peculiar in shape, but the letter is more like an *ω* than an *α*, and in view of l. 15 *οτωι* is more probable than *οταν*. The scribe (whose attention clearly wandered in this line) may have started to write a *δ*; *διοργιζόμενος* may be a corruption of *δὲ ὀργιζόμενος*.

28 [δ]ι̣ς[α]ι̣α: the traces are quite inconclusive (e.g. [π]ρ[λ]λα (Maas) is not an impossible reading), but the reading in the text finds support in the version of the letter given by Nicolaus, and quoted above.

2331. Verses on the Labours of Heracles

23·5 × 10·6 cm. Third century.

Plate XI

Part of three columns of an illuminated roll. Column i is broken off at the bottom; columns ii and iii end with an illustration, and though it is not certain that there was no writing below the illustrations, it is unlikely that there was since l. 17 follows on very well after l. 16. We then have a case of a roll whose columns were wider than they were long. This arrangement is very unusual in the ordinary literary papyri, but we do not know enough of illustrated rolls to be dogmatic about their format.

The writing is a good cursive executed with unusual care. The large epsilons and alphas and the use of enlarged letters at the beginnings of ll. 17 and 19 (cf. also the initial letter of *Ὀλυμπίου* in l. 14) foreshadow the style of the fourth and later centuries, but such features are occasionally found in second-century hands, e.g. Schubart, *Pal.* abb. 39 and *Pap. Graec. Berol.* 25 (for the third century cf. P. Merton 24 and 28), and I should not feel inclined to place **2331** later than the first half of the third century. Gaps are occasionally left between words, a practice which may indicate that the text

was written for use in school (cf. P. Ryl. iii 486), though the hand and the illustrations alike demonstrate that it was not the work of a schoolboy.

In style and diction the lines are as crude as the metre in which they are written. The basis of the latter is an ionic trimeter (cf. ll. 14 and 18) and may be classified as Phalaecean (cf. Wilamowitz, *Griechische Verskunst*, pp. 137 seq.); l. 19 certainly and perhaps ll. 13 and 17 may be regarded as conventional hendecasyllabics, and the quantitative pattern of others finds a parallel in the sixth hymn of Synesius (cf. Wilamowitz, op. cit., p. 144). No precise parallel is to be expected; as Professor Maas has pointed out to me, these lines have all the licence associated with Sotadeans.

The only one of the Labours described in the extant fragment is the Nemean Lion; this is preceded by a dialogue between Heracles and someone unnamed, the presumed author of the verses. Probably, then, **2331** is from the beginning of the roll, the episode of the Nemean Lion being regarded, as it usually was, as the first of the Labours.

Any real interest the fragment possesses lies in the illustrations and their relation to the text. There are considerable traces of colour. In the first illustration Heracles has yellow hair and is wearing a yellow garment (perhaps an intelligent anticipation by the illustrator of the outcome of the first episode); the ground is green, as is the weapon or instrument he is wielding. In the second illustration the lion is a tawny yellow, as is the club which lies parallel with Heracles' right leg (it is not discernible in the photograph); the ground is green and yellow; the identity of the object above the club is a puzzle. In the third drawing Heracles himself is yellow and the rest green, apart from the club which again lies to the left. For the following comment on the illustrations I am indebted to Prof. K. Weitzmann:

'While it has always been realized that certain scientific texts of classical antiquity required explanatory illustrations, in papyrus rolls of the Hellenistic–Roman period fragments of which have survived, it has been debated whether illustrations can be assumed to have existed also in literary papyri. So far the affirmative answer has rested on the slender basis of one single example, larger than a small shred, namely a second century A.D. papyrus of an unknown romance in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, cod. suppl. gr. 1294, with parts of four consecutive columns of writing three of which contain an interspersed miniature (most recently published: K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, Princeton, 1947, p. 51 and fig. 40, with bibliography). The Heracles papyrus is now the second example whereby the argument that literary papyri with pictures not only existed but were illustrated according to the same general principles as the scientific ones is greatly strengthened; here too the illustrations are quite simple drawings, confined to essentials, without frame and background, confined within the lateral limits of the writing columns and inserted in them at irregular intervals wherever the text required a picture. Like the Paris papyrus it has three miniatures, but they are somewhat differently arranged. Instead of having one in each column there is one in the middle and two in the right-hand

column; the latter are separated by only two lines of writing, a fact which suggests an even denser sequence of scenes and thus a richer cycle, if this fragment can be taken as a typical section of the whole scroll.

'Only the second of the three scenes can be identified with absolute certainty: here Heracles, stepping on a green ground line, is depicted killing the Nemean lion which stands on another, higher and likewise greenly coloured, ground line. The naked hero strangles the lion by pressing its head under his armpit, while his club, coloured in faint yellow wash, is visible behind his back without any indication as to what it leans against. The text in general speaks about the πρῶτος ἆθλος, and the lines underneath the miniature in particular point out the killing "with his strong arms".

'The interpretation of the other two scenes is difficult for two reasons: (1) some horizontal fibres across the middle have disappeared, and (2) the text underneath the scenes 1 and 3 is lost, which surely would have cast some light on the identification.[1] If the interstices for the pictures were filled out with writing, the columns, in their present size, would have 13 lines; compared with other literary papyri this is only approximately half the number one would expect. About the identification of the third scene we feel almost certain. With the faint yellow club at the left in the same position as in the preceding scene we surely deal once more with Heracles. He holds in his hands what, in our opinion, is the lion skin of which the two dangling hind legs and the long tail with the tassel at its end, fluttering to the right, are clearly discernible. The only disturbing point is that the object we take to be the skin is painted green; but since these drawings are very sketchy indeed, it may be presumed that the painter simply used the same colour he had rightly used for the ground line for the rest of his picture as well.

'The first scene is more difficult to explain. Since the preceding text mentions the πρῶτος ἆθλος we can rightly surmise that the nude figure is once more Heracles and that the object in his raised hands may therefore be the club, although it admittedly looks more like a staff. Yet the former interpretation is supported by the fact that in the other two drawings the club is similarly depicted by a dark stroke for the shadow-side while the solid part is painted an easily fading yellow. If we are not mistaken, the right half of the first miniature consists essentially of a ragged ground line and—above the missing fibres—of what looks like two hillocks. Since landscape is ordinarily used rather sparingly in sketchy papyrus drawings, it must have a special significance. Both of our two best literary sources for the labours of Heracles stress the fact that the adventure with the Nemean lion took place in a mountainous region. According to Apollodorus (*Bibl.* iv 11 3–4) the lion retreated into a cave, according to Diodorus Siculus (II v 1) into a cleft. If our drawing represents, as we are inclined to believe, Heracles pursuing the lion into his hiding-place, the Diodorus text would fit the situation better, as there seems to be, indeed, a cleft behind two mountain peaks. On the

[1] [See, however, above; it is doubtful whether any text has been lost. C.H.R.]

other hand, the Apollodorus text says explicitly that Heracles, after having unsuccessfully tried to shoot the lion with an arrow, lifted up the club for the pursuit, and this he seems indeed to do in the picture if our interpretation is correct.

'The greater importance of the Oxford papyrus as compared with the romance papyrus in Paris lies in the fact that (1) we move with the Heracles story in a realm of familiar iconography, and (2) that we deal with the very recension which continues into later Byzantine art. To quote only two later examples of Heracles choking the lion in very much the same manner: from the sixth to seventh century we have a huge silver plate in the Cab. des Méd. in Paris (E. Piot in *Gaz. Arch.* ii 1886, p. 317, pl. 21; L. Matzulewitsch, *Byzantinische Antike*, 1929, p. 52), where club, quiver, and bow are placed in a segment underneath the ground line, and from the tenth to eleventh century Byzantine ivories, notably a plaque on a casket in Arezzo (A. Goldschmidt–K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, vol. i, 1940, pl. XVI, 29*e*), where the club is held by Iolaus.

'The Heracles papyrus is a most characteristic example of the cyclic method of illustration, according to which a single episode is pictorially narrated in several phases following each other at short intervals. This principle we consider as most typical of book illumination (*Roll and Codex*, pp. 17 seq., 37 seq.), and wherever it is found in other media we may suspect its influence. Thus with regard to the Heracles cycle we have previously concluded that a Megarian bowl with the πέμπτος ἆθλος (*Roll and Codex*, p. 22, fig. 12), and the numerous Byzantine ivory plaques with Heracles scenes far exceeding the conventional dodecathlos (K. Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art*, Princeton, 1951, pp. 157 seq.) are derived from illustrated manuscripts dealing *in extenso* with the life of Heracles. This assumption is now fully vindicated by the Oxford papyrus.

'It is for the manifold reasons outlined in this brief note that we can without exaggeration say that the Heracles papyrus is the most important illustrated literary papyrus found so far.'

Col. i

(*c.* 5 *lines missing*)

. . .

]κ.

]δ̣αι

].αι

]ψσιν

5]

]αν ακτω

]π̣αι

].

. . .

Col. ii

[..]χ[..].[.]θεναρ..παντοτε γρυλλω
10 [.]ε.[.]αθλων ερισας ρ περι καθαρμα
αλλ αυτος ερχεται καταδιαβενων
καρναρις αστομος δεινος αγροικος
[.....] μηδεν ολως τρεσας λαληση
λεγεται Ζηνος Ολυμπιου φρασον μοι
15 ποιον πρωτον ο πεποιηκας αθλον {ειπον}
και μου μανθαν[[ε̣]] πρωτον επεποιηκα
(*illustration*)

Col. iii

Εις πρωτον Νεμ̣α̣η λεοντ̣α̣[
κρατεραις χερεσι μου ταυταις απε[
(*illustration*)

Εις δις ληπον ε[γ]ω χαρ̣α̣ λεονταν
20 προσπνιξας αλογως νευρον τεθ[ηκα]
(*illustration*)

11 l. καταδιαβαίνων 16 l. ἐπεποιήκη 17 l. Νεμέᾳ 19 l. λοιπόν

6 There is a wide gap between ρ̣ν and ακτω which should indicate that ρ̣ν concludes a word, though this is not the case with the smaller gap after δι in l. 11. If ἀνάκτων was intended, one would expect the ν to be indicated by a line above the ω and of this there is no trace.

10 The letter before περί is neither ι nor α.

11 καταδιαβαίνω: *addendum lexicis.*

12 καρνάριος occurs in a number of third-century papyri in the sense *barrow-man.* Here, however, it is probably a transcription of *carnarius.* The only known example of this as a masculine substantive is Mart. xi 100. 6 in a sense inapplicable here, but Petronius' use of *carnarium* (Sat. 45. 4 'ferrum optimum daturus est, sine fuga, carnarium in medio') suggests that the word might have been used here as a noun with the sense *butcher, man of blood.*

15 The intrusive εἶπον is probably a relic of a variant ending, e.g. σὺ δ' εἶπον, to the preceding line.

18 Probably απε[γξα for ἄπηγξα.

2332. The Oracle of the Potter[1]

Late third century.

This text, on the verso of a report of legal proceedings of *c.* A.D. 284, is written in a cramped cursive, nearly contemporary with the recto hand. The papyrus has suffered from damp, and is consequently very friable; there are cracks and holes and in places the surface has flaked.

The Oracle of the Potter is already known from two texts, one in the Graf collection in Vienna which records merely the narrative framework of the prophecy, the other a Rainer papyrus which contains the prophecy (or a large part of it) and a brief narrative conclusion.[2] This is unfortunately in a condition even worse than that of **2332** and much has remained obscure in spite of the efforts of many scholars;[3] here, as in **2332,** the problem is made none the easier by the gross illiteracy, mental confusion, and repetitiveness inseparable from this kind of popular literature.[4] However, **2332** does provide a basis for the reconsideration of the problems, even a solution for some of them, although the text it offers is far from being identical with that of the Rainer papyrus.[5] Thus ll. 16–31 are similar, with wide variations, to a passage of R and ll. 53–end are nearly identical with the corresponding section of R, but the remaining passages of **2332** are not represented in R at all (although they *may* have come in a different position and so not survived), just as ll. 25–30 and the concluding narrative section of R have no counterpart in **2332.** Even where agreement is close there are continual minor differences in order and wording. Any attempt to construct a basic text would be futile; literature of this kind was always liable to be added to, rewritten, or corrected to meet the exigencies of a particular occasion or to enhance the credit of the particular oracle-monger, nor did it ever receive the attentions of

[1] I have had the advantage of discussing this text both with Prof. A. D. Nock and Prof. Paul Alexander; references which I owe to the former carry the initials A.D.N.

[2] Both were published by Wessely in *Denkschr. Kön. Ak. Wiss. Wien* xlii (1893) 3 seq.; a revised and much improved edition of the Rainer text has been given by H. Gerstinger in *Wiener Studien* (1925), pp. 219 seq. This was reprinted with one or two additional supplements by R. Reitzenstein in Reitzenstein–Schaeder, *Studien z. antiken Synkretismus* (Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, vii), pp. 38 seq. Both texts are printed by G. Manteuffel in his *De Opusculis Graecis,* but he has revised the text on the basis of nothing more than the published photograph of part of the Rainer fragment, and the readings given (as **2332** demonstrates in the case of the Rainer fragment) are consequently unreliable.

[3] The most important studies are those by E. Meyer in *SB. Preuss. Akad.* xxxi (1905), pp. 651 seq.; U. Wilcken in *Hermes* xl (1905), pp. 146 seq., and Reitzenstein, op. cit.: cf. also the last-named's article in *Nach. Gött. Ges.* (1904), 309 seq. Wilcken's text is reprinted with a brief commentary by H. von Gall, *Βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ,* pp. 69–74, who usefully assembles parallel texts and correctly aligns it with Egyptian literature.

[4] There are two other papyri one of which certainly, the other probably, preserves a Greco-Egyptian prophetic text akin to the Oracle of the Potter; in the first, P.S.I. viii 982, the Jews are specifically mentioned as the hated invaders (this assumes the adoption of the original editor's supplement Ἰου[δαι- in l. 4; see G. Manteuffel, *Mélanges Maspero* ii [*Mem. Inst. fr. Arch. Or.* lxvii (1934)], pp. 119 seq.), whereas in the Oracle of the Potter there is no trace of anti-Semitism. The second, P.S.I. vii 760, was doubtfully classified as 'romance' by its editors, but more probably belongs to this genre of literature (cf. the reference to men eaten by crocodiles and compare with this the Middle Kingdom Egyptian text quoted by C. C. McCown, 'Hebrew and Egyptian Apocalyptic Literature' [*Harvard Theological Review* xviii (1925), p. 374]).

[5] Henceforth referred to as R.

scholars. To show as clearly as possible the relation between the two papyri, I have attached a transcript of col. i of R; for col. ii, where **2332** is either closer to R or has nothing at all parallel (e.g. to the narrative section), I have been content to draw attention to the differences in the notes.

2332 contributes two new elements of importance. In l. 33 the mention of the being who is to be the source of evil *to the Greeks* makes explicit the anti-Greek nature of this version of the prophecy and clinches the identification of the *παραθαλάσσιος πόλις* whose fate is described in ll. 59 seq. with Alexandria. Secondly, an allusion to King Bokchoris and his magic lamb in l. 34 immediately relates the prophecy with P. Rain. Dem. from Socnopaiu Nesos (MS. dated to A.D. 4/5).[1] In this predictions are made of the catastrophes to descend on Egypt from the land of Choir (i.e. Phoenicia) and of the eventual recovery by the Egyptians of the images of the gods which have been taken to Syria (perhaps to Niniveh); the prediction ends with a narrative section describing the death and burial of the lamb.

Thus Wilcken's view[2] that the prophecy is based on an Egyptian original finds additional confirmation both in the Bokchoris reference and in ll. 45 seq. (see note ad loc.); but in calling it a translation (rather than an adaptation) and in ascribing the original definitely to the New Kingdom he attributes a fixity and a literary character to a work to which they were clearly alien; such prophecies easily assimilated elements from different periods, even perhaps from different cultures, and it is unnecessary to regard the reference to the destruction of Alexandria as a mere *hellenistisches Einschiebsel*, a view now made less plausible by the reference in **2332** to the Greeks. But while **2332** confirms the general correctness of Wilcken's interpretation, his hypothesis, tentatively advanced, that anything so specific as the reform of the calendar at the beginning of a new Sothic period is alluded to in the description of changes in the natural order of summer and winter, was rightly controverted by Reitzenstein[3] and finds no support in **2332**. Reitzenstein's own view that the work is essentially

[1] Published by J. Krall, 'Vom König Bokchoris' in *Festgabe z. Ehren Max Büdinger*, pp. 3–11: see also McCown, op. cit., pp. 392 seq., who discusses the identity of King Bokchoris and the other sources for the legend (cf. also W. G. Waddell's edition of Manetho [Loeb Classical Library], pp. 164–5). Wilcken (op. cit., p. 558) had already observed that this text afforded the closest parallel to the Oracle of the Potter.

[2] Op. cit., p. 558. The mention of the lamb goes far to confirm a brilliant suggestion of W. Struve's ('Zum Töpferorakel', *Raccolta Lumbroso*, pp. 273 seq.); he points out that a potter as such has no prophetic function in any Greek source and suggests that it is a rendering of the Egyptian *ḳd* or *nḥp*; these both mean 'potter' and were titles of the *ram-headed* god Chnum who created sun, gods, and men on the potter's wheel. The god would be represented by one of his animal incarnations (cf. the lamb of the Bokchoris text); in the Greek adaptation of the Egyptian original the use of the word *κεραμεύς* has led to a certain amount of confusion.

[3] Op. cit., p. 42. Struve (op. cit., p. 279) accepts Wilcken's hypothesis that the prophecy in ll. 72 seq. alludes to the coincidence of the Egyptian 'wandering' year with the solar year, but would connect this event not with the beginning of a new Sothic period but with a deliberate reform of the calendar. This he finds in the reform of Ptolemy III (see p. 91, note 3) whereby an intercalary day was added every four years. But such a reform, rational and scarcely perceptible in its effect, would be a pathetic fulfilment of the prophecy of the potter of the immediate consequences in the realm of nature of the new king's reign.

apocalyptic[1] in character, and that the 'golden age' to which its prophecies look forward is not associated with any one historical event, whether past or future, is surely correct; but his minimization of the Egyptian influence (which he regards as formal merely) is certainly mistaken, and his attempts to find Iranian sources for the statements of the Potter are, at the least, very dubious.[2] It is true that he has provided a possible explanation for the term *ζωνοφόροι* from an Iranian source;[3] but the grounds for seeing an allusion to Cambyses in R 11–13 are tenuous,[4] while 'the King from the Sun' (l. 65 and cf. R ii 7) recalls the myth of the golden rule of Rē the Egyptian Sun-God, not Mithras,[5] nor is there any ground for twisting the statement that those alive in the reign of the new king would wish that the dead would arise to share their good fortune into an Egyptian rationalization of a Persian conception of the resurrection.[6]

In the Oracle of the Potter Reitzenstein saw an Iranian text rewritten for Greek-

[1] 'Apocalyptic' should be understood in the wide sense which McCown gives it, op. cit., p. 368.

[2] So, more strongly, Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* ii, p. 106 and A. D. Nock in his reviews of Reitzenstein in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* xlix (1929), p. 114, and of Bidez–Cumont, 'Les Mages hellénisés' in *Journal of Roman Studies* xxx (1940), pp. 191 seq.; the latter (op. cit. ii 372[3]) uncritically accept Reitzenstein's theory as a fact, describing the Oracle as 'remaniement égyptien d'une apocalypse mazdéenne'.

[3] He points out (op. cit., p. 45) that the enemy who are masters of Persia, according to the Bahman-Yast, are demons who wear leather girdles instead of the *Gebetsschnur*. (however, Fr. R. P. de Menasce, O.P., informs me that the reference here is probably to the Turks); while W. Struve in *Raccolta Lumbroso*, pp. 273 seq., observes that the military girdle was never worn by Egyptians and that consequently in Egyptian literature 'girdle-wearers' is a generic term for barbarians. So here again the theory of Persian influence can be dispensed with (so Nock, loc. cit.); but Struve throws away the force of his excellent observation by accepting Reitzenstein's identification of the *ζωνοφόρων πόλις* with Persepolis and finding the new king in the person of Ptolemy III. Apart from other difficulties, this would only make sense if Egypt had suffered the corresponding disasters in the years preceding Ptolemy's successful Asiatic campaign. It is an error to attempt to impose a rational scheme on a work of this kind, and to tie down the deliberately vague statements of the writer to one particular historic occasion. Parallels with the Canopus decree (e.g. the restoration of the *ἱερά*, cf. l. 57) are not surprising since they and similar claims in this and other decrees are the common attributes of successful kingship and as such naturally find a place in prophetic literature as well. [On this theme see W. Peek, *Der Isishymnos von Andros*, p. 19, l. 95, p. 122, l. 23; also Jerome, *Comment. in Dan.* ii, quoted by Th. Höpfner, *Font. Hist. Rel. Aeg.* p. 640, on the restoration of the images by Ptolemy Euergetes. A.D.N.] The *ζωνοφόροι alias Τυφώνιοι* are all or any 'foreign devils', as the 'king from Syria' is any invading potentate. ('Syria', whether Assyria or Persia, as the traditional foe of Egypt needs no gloss—particularly as Syria was the only quarter from which an organized invasion of Egypt could take place.) He could no doubt be understood to be Alexander the Great (once Greek rule became unpopular) as well as any other foreign ruler of Egypt, and the *ζωνοφόρων πόλις* could, *at the time the translation was made*, be understood by its audience to refer to Alexandria and the traditional phrase 'the restoration of the holy things which had been carried away thither' could refer, *inter alia*, to the hoped-for removal of the Sarapis cult from the doomed city of Alexandria (as the return of Ptâh–Hephaestus marks the recapture by Memphis of her position as capital of Egypt).

[4] Op. cit., p. 41; an allusion to Cambyses might well, however, have been incorporated into the Egyptian prophetic tradition during the Persian domination of Egypt. H. von Gall (op. cit., p. 73) suggests that *ζωνοφόρων πόλις* was the Persian citadel in Memphis; this might have been so in some ancestor of our texts extant during the Persian occupation, but the expression can hardly have meant this to the Greek readers of R. and **2332**.

[5] On this point see A. D. Nock's review of Bidez–Cumont, cited above (note 10), p. 195, n. 44 [A.D.N.]; see also McCown, op. cit., p. 377. F. Altheim (*Weltgeschichte Asiens* i 105 and ii 174 seq.) swallows Reitzenstein's theory whole and confidently refers to the 'Zarathustrian' origin of the Oracle as established [A.D.N.].

[6] Reitzenstein, op. cit., pp. 48 seq. Rationalizations are hardly in place in literature of this kind.

speaking Egyptians under the influence of the LXX and composed, probably, during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. Not only may the Persian influence be discounted, but the date suggested by Reitzenstein is almost certainly too late; and with it goes the case (which in any case receives little enough support from the text) for any extensive influence of the LXX.[1] Not only may Greco-Egyptian literature well be older than the Ptolemies,[2] but in the collection of papyri in the possession of Trinity College, Dublin, is a small fragment which may perhaps be akin to the Oracle of the Potter; and the hand in which this is written can hardly be later than the middle of the third century B.C.[3] This is not to say that contemporaries may not have seen in the allusion to 'the king from Syria' a reference to Antiochus; much less probably, the passage may have been inserted in the second century B.C.[4]

So the colophon which in R is attached to the prophecy would seem (as Wilcken judged) on the whole to be justified: *ἀπ[ο]λογία κεραμέως π[ρ]ὸς Ἀμενῶπιν τὸν βασιλέα περὶ τῶν [τ]ῇ Αἰγύπτῳ μελλόντων μεθηρμενευμένη κατὰ τὸ [δυνα]τόν*;[5] we should, perhaps, note that it does not claim exactness. Certainly the parallels with Egyptian prophecies

[1] Nock (loc. cit.) is sceptical of any Jewish influence and points out that the resemblance between the doom of Alexandria as a *ψυγμὸς ἁλιέων* and Ezekiel xxvi 5 may be fortuitous. E. Norden (*Die Geburt des Kindes*, p. 55) draws attention to parallelisms of theme and of style ('the suppressed hexameter rhythms') between the Oracle and the *Oracula Sibyllina*. Yet closer are the parallelisms between the Oracle and the 'little apocalypse' in *Asclepius* c. 24–26 (ed. A. D. Nock and A-J. Festugière, *Corpus Hermeticum*, vol. ii: the relevant passages will be found on pp. 326 seq.), to which both Professor Nock and Professor Alexander have drawn my attention; cf. further notes to the text of **2332**, and p. 93, note 2.

[2] See Nock in *Gnomon* xxi (1949), pp. 221 seq. and especially p. 226.

[3] I identified this fragment in the course of a brief survey of the collection made in December 1950; I have to thank the Librarian, Dr. H. W. Parke, for his kindness both in sending me a photograph and in allowing me to publish the text here.

Trinity College Dublin, papyrus 192(*b*); 11·6 × 10·3 cm. Along the fibres, the upper margin only is preserved. Col. i [1] *ἐ]ξέθηκεν* [2] *]δειξιν γενο* [3] *]. εν τοῖς* [4] *ἀ]νὴρ ε[...]ψγεν (?ἐ[κ το]ῦ γέν[ους)* [5] *]ηῃ...τομε* [6] *]παραδείξας* [7] *].ου πᾶσι θνητοῖς* [8] *]..ᾳ..ᾳρχὴν* Col. ii [1] *καρποφορε.[* [2] *τὰ ἐμ Βουσῖρι[* [3] *τὸ δ' ἐμ Βουβά[στῳ* [4] *λει το Μέμφε[ι* [5] *καὶ ἀδωροδο[κ* [6] *Λίμνη καὶ ἰθ[* [7] *χρυσόπολις κ[* (cf. Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 1074 in which it is used of Hierapolis) [8] *Ἑρμοῦ πόλιν[σ-* [9] *ημειοφορον[* [10] *καὶ πᾶσα γῆ[* [11] *καὶ ποτα[μοὶ* .

The precise nature of this text is obscure and Professor Nock may well be right in associating it with an historical text, e.g. Manetho or Hecataeus, not with the Oracle of the Potter nor (as he earlier suggested) with such texts as the Invocation of Isis (**1380**) or the Praises of Imouthes–Asclepius (**1381**). He points out that the vocabulary of the fragment has something in common with these latter texts; cf., for example, i 6–7 with ll. 179 and 207 of **1380**, l. 198 of **1381**, and with Panamara inscription n. 14 (J. Herzfeld in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1927, p. 74), while the list of sanctuaries may be compared with that given in Hdt. ii 59 and P. Lund. 10 (K. Hanell in *Bull. Soc. roy. lettres de Lund* 1937/8, pp. 19–24). I should hesitate to dissent from his judgement; but i 4 and 6–7, ii 5, and the use of the nominative in ii 10 suggest to me that the theme of the fragment may have been apocalyptic. However, these features of the text have an analogy in the Isidorus hymns, cf. *SEG* viii 548 ll. 5, 9, 11 and id. 551 where a quasi-historical background is blended with aretalogical motifs. In any case no direct connexion can be predicated between **2332** and the Dublin fragment. [*χρυσόπολις* might refer to Aphroditopolis (for the connexion between Hathor and gold cf. Roscher, *Lexikon* i 1852) or, more probably, to Heliopolis (for the sun and gold cf. Dion Perieg. 589 with Eustathius ad loc.). But there are other candidates: Canopus is described in Aristides *ap.* Hopfner, *Fontes Rel. Eg.* 302, 24 as *χρυσοῦν ἔδαφος* and Omboi was called in Egyptian 'Nubt the golden' (see H. Kees in *R.E.* xviii 346, and Bonnet, *Reallex. d. ägypt. Religionsgesch.* 217). A. D. N.]

[4] W. W. Tarn in *JEA* xv (1929), p. 11, accepts Struve's view that the *ζωνοφόρων πόλις* is Antioch [A.D.N.].

[5] In the papyrus the order of words is disturbed.

of the Middle and New Kingdoms are too close to be fortuitous.[1] In its Greek version the prophecy is a medley of legend, history, and apocalyptic fantasy; there may well be some slight Persian and Jewish[2] as well as Greek and Egyptian elements, since the Greek version cannot at the earliest antedate the fourth century B.C.; but what is basic to it is the Egyptian element with its narrative framework, its idea of a period of general disaster followed by a period of Utopian prosperity, its strongly nationalist and xenophobic sentiment.

It is not inconceivable that a translation of an Egyptian prophetic text was made for the benefit of, for example, the Hellenomemphite community in the course of the fourth century B.C. when Greeks and Egyptians made common cause against the Persian enemy; it certainly seems likely that in the late fourth or third century a Greek translation of an Egyptian text or a rewriting of an earlier translation served as a vehicle to express the hatred and jealousy felt for the governing Greek class and above all for its stronghold of Alexandria not only by Egyptians (a text for a purely Egyptian audience would be in Demotic) but by the 'poor white' class of Greeks and Greco-Egyptians who did not belong to the Greek cities and *πολιτεύματα*. For this a date near the end of the third century would be more suitable than one near the beginning. Some, of course, of the anti-Greek expressions may have been added later, and a hatred of Greeks felt by Greek-speaking people is perhaps more explicable in the Roman than in the Ptolemaic period; but the attack on Alexandria really demands an earlier date,[3] and an early date for a kindred text is necessitated by the Dublin fragment.

[1] See in general C. C. McCown's article quoted above and Nock's review of R. Harder's *Karpokrates von Chalkis* referred to in note 5 above.

[2] Mr. J. W. Barns first drew my attention to unmistakable resemblances between the Prophecy of the Potter and the Coptic *Apocalypse of Elias*, first edited, with translation, by G. Steindorff, Leipzig, 1899. Here again we find allusions to a king coming from the West who will inaugurate a time of peace and plenty, to the 'capital by the sea', and to the restoration of the holy places. In its present form this apocalypse dates from the fourth century A.D., and it would seem at first sight more probable that the author of the apocalypse rather than the author of the prophecy was the borrower. I have not detected any resemblances between the prophecy and the Hebrew *Apocalypse of Elias* (edited, with translation, by M. Buttenwieser, Leipzig, 1897), though it is interesting to note that its editor places its composition in the third century A.D. and finds allusions to the Palmyrene dynasty. On both these apocalypses see W. Bousset, *Beiträge z. Geschichte der Eschatologie* in *Ztsch. f. Kirchengeschichte* xx (1899/1900), pp. 103 and 261; he regards the *Apocalypse of Elias* as fundamentally Jewish with some Egyptian interpolations (e.g. the references to Memphis) and some Christian rewriting in its Coptic version (id., *Religion des Judentums*[3], p. 46); if his view is correct, then insertions must have been taken from the Oracle of the Potter, of whose existence Bousset was apparently unaware. In his opinion this apocalypse reflects (as does its Hebrew homonym) the struggle between Persia and the Palmyrene dynasty. [On the relationship of the Oracle of the Potter to Jewish literature see H. Gressmann in *Journal of Theological Studies* xxvii (1926) p. 242. A.D.N.]

[3] The *κτιζομένη πόλις* must surely be identical with the *ζωνοφόρων πόλις*, just as the *Τυφώνιοι* are a doublet for the *ζωνοφόροι*; the strangeness of the former expression has, as far as I am aware, passed without comment. Unless the use of the present participle can be explained as 'translation Greek', it can only be translated as 'the city which is being founded', and the attack on Alexandria would then go back to the years when the city was actually being built (see note to l. 51). The great new foundation may well have excited feelings of hostility among the Greek community at Memphis. For anti-Greek feeling, cf. the remarks of Rostovtzeff, *Soc. Ec. Hist. Hell. World*, p. 1395.

Apart from the Dublin fragment and the Graf papyrus which is dated to the second century A.D., the rest—**2332**, R, and both P.S.I. texts—were written in the third century A.D. If an explanation has to be found for the existence of these texts in Greek (rather than Demotic or Coptic) at this time, we may find it in the social and political crises of the third century, the economic exploitation and suffering of the Greco-Egyptian middle class in cities such as Oxyrhynchus, the indifference of most of the Emperors of the third century to their position, and, not least, Roman failures in the eastern wars and the success, although short-lived, of the Palmyrene dynasty.[1] Just as the *Acta Alexandrinorum* expressed the thwarted vanity and frustrated ambitions of the Alexandrian aristocracy at the beginning of the century, so these prophetic texts may convey the feelings of the humbler Greek-speaking population who were no longer conscious of any common bond with the Greek upper class, let alone with their Roman governors, in spite of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*.

Col. i

θυοντας φιλοκ[...]μελλεις ἄρξει δὲ τῆς Αἰγύπτου
[...]ς εἰς τὴν [κτ]ειζομένην πόλειν ἥτεις τοὺς θεοὺς
[ἐκ και]νοῦ χωνεύσασα ἴδειον πλ[ά]σμα ἑαυτῇ ποιη-
[.....]υθησασα δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Τυ[φ]ωνείων καὶ τὰς αὐτῆς
5 *[.....]ων ἱερῶν παραθ. σται [..]των ἱερῶν πρόσοδοι*
[.....]ε.ν[.].τα ε.θ[.]..ρριπιλο[..]φη εἰς ⟨π⟩ολειν{ν} καταν-
[...]χ.δ[.]..π[.].σ ὑπὸ τῶν .εοντ[..]ν ταφὰς στεξευτη
[...]εμδ[.].να.τ[..]ες θείαν νείκην ἐν τεινεὶ καιρῷ τῶν
[Τυ]φωνίων [..]τε.τ[ῷ] δέοντει καιρῷ οὐξ εἰδείας α[.]
10 *[....].ανας ἀσεβείας αὐτὴ γῆ οὐ συμφωνήσει τοῖς*
[.....].σει ε.[.]. κατά τε ταύτης ἀνεμόφθορα κατὰ τὴν Αἴ-
[γυπτο]ν γυ.[.]ευρ..λειβανον κασωτει καὶ μὴ αὐτὸν
[...] τα υπ[α..].λειρ. δειὰ τὴν τοῦ Νείλου ἔνδειαν ἡ ἄτοκος
[.]. .κφαρη.εσ{τ}ται ατροθρεκυεια λυπηθήσονται Τυ-
15 *[φ]ώ[ν]ι[ο]ι τον[...]ν ἔν τε τοῖς τῶν συμφωνιῶν καιροῖς*
[...]η Αἴγυπτος κακο῾υ῾ργημάνη δεινοῖς καθ᾽ ἔτος ἐξευρι-
[μα]σ[ιν] καὶ τοῖς κ]ακουργήμασειν ὁ δὲ ἥλειος ἀμαυρωθή-
σ[ετα]ι [ο]ὐ θέλ[ω]ν [βλέ]πειν τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ κακὰ ἡ γῆ οὐ συμ-
φ[ωνήσει .].[...]ασειν ἔσται ταῦ⟨τα⟩ εἰς τὰ αὐτῆς ἀνεμό-

[1] See p. 93, note 2. [W. Scott (*Hermetica* i 61 seq.) relates the 'little apocalypse' in the Asclepius to events in Egypt in the third quarter of the third century, in particular to the Palmyrene invasion. A.D.N.]

20 *φ⟨θ⟩ορα [γεωρ]γ[ὸς ὑπ]ὲρ ὅσ{σ}ων οὐκ ἔσπειρεν φόρους ἀπαιτη-*
...[.]σ.[.....]έχονται ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους
διὰ τ[ὸ ἐ]νδ[εεῖς] εἶναι αὐτῶν τροφῶν ἃ γὰρ γεωργοῦσει
[.....].νσει.[.]υτου τοῦ γένους
[.....]ης ἔσται τῶν ἀδελφῶν
25 *[.....]ηφεις ἐβουλήθη εἰς τὴν*
[ ]..ς οἱ ζωνοφόροι ἀνελουσείον-
[τες.....]ς κακῶς τε θήσαιται μετε-
[λεύσεται δὲ ποσὶ ..] θάλασσαν μηνὴν᾽ καὶ πολλ[οὺς]
[καταστρέψει σὺν τοῖ]ς πρρειζομένοις ἀσεβεῖς [ ]
30 *[.....καθέξει δ]ὲ ἐκ [Σ]υριάς βασιλεὺς ὃς*
[ἔσται μεισητὸς πᾶ]σειν ἀνθρώποις .[.].δ[.]·

Col. ii

οὐκ ἦν ἡμέτερος ὁ δὲ τὰ πεντήκοντα πέντε ἔτη
{κοντα πέντη ἔτη} ἡμέτερος ὑπάρχων τοῖς Ἕλλησι
τὰ κακὰ .[.]αχαριν ἡμε⟨ῖ⟩ν ὁ ἀμ{μ}νὸς καὶ τύχη
35 *[ἀ]π[ὸ] τρ[ύτο]υ τοῦ γένους ἀφερηθήσαιτα[ι] καὶ ἐλάττ[ω-]*
[θησετα]ι τούτων τὰ ἀδελφὰ ἥτε {τε} χώρα ἀκατά[σ]τα-
[τος ἔσται] καταλείψαν⟨α⟩ οὖσα αὐτῶν τὴν τοι[....]τα
[.....]τ.λοτ[..]λεολ..νοι το[ῖ]ς φελ[.....]ς
[.].ησ[...] ἑαυτοῦ κακὰ [ἡσ]σον [.]λον τ[ὰ] ἐκεῖν[ο]υ
40 *[κ]αὶ ἄνθρωποι ὑπὸ τῆς [..]πες ⟨ ⟩ εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ [γ]ὰρ*
πᾶς ἐλεύσονται ἕνεκεν ⟨τοῦ⟩ τοῦ ἑγὸς κέρδους η τα
ε⟨ ⟩ γυναικῶν ἐν ψύχυς ἄρα καὶ θάνατος πολὺς ἀνεχώ-
[..]αν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω τόποις καὶ ζωνοφόρων πόλις ἐρη-
[μ]ωθήσηται ὃν τρόπον τὴν ἐμὴν κάμεινον καὶ
45 *οἱ δούλων ἐλευθερωθήσονται καὶ οἱ κοίρειοι αὐτῶν*
βίος δεηθήσον⟨ται⟩ καὶ αἱ πάρθεναι [.]αταρτο.γγιπεων
φθαρήσονται καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ τῆς θυγατρὸς ἀποσπάσει τὸν
ἄνδρα καὶ μητρογάμοι ἔσονται καὶ τὰ ἀρσενικὰ παιδ[ί]α
βιαι[ω]ς ⟨κατ᾽⟩ ἰσχὺν θύσονται καὶ ἑαυτοὺ⟨ς⟩ οἱ ζωνοφόροι
50 *ἀνελουσείοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ Τυφώνιοι κατά τε ὁ ἀγαθὸς*
δαίμων καταλείψει τὴν κτιζομένην πόλειν καὶ ἀ-

πελεύσεται εἰς τὴν θεοτόκον Μέμφειν καὶ ἐξερημώσηται ταῦτα δὲ ἔσται ἐπὶ τέλει τῶν κακῶν ἐπὰν φυλλορ[όη]
παραγένηται εἰ[ς] Αἴγυπτον ἀξένων ἀνδρῶν ἥ τε τῶν
55 ζωνοφόρων ⟨πόλις⟩ ἐρημωθήσαιται ὃν τρόπον
τὴν ἐμὴν κάμεινον διὰ τὰς ἀνομείας ἃς ἐποιήσαν-
τοι καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τα ..[...].[.]α ἐκεῖ με[τ]ενεχθέντα
πάλειν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐπα[ν]ήξει {εἰς Αἴγυπτον} ἥτε
παραθαλάσσιος πόλ[ι]ς ψυγμὼν ἀλλιέων ἔσ[τ]αι
60 διὰ ⟨τὸ⟩ τὸν ἀγαθὸν δαιμόνα ⟨καὶ⟩ Μῆφιν ⟨εἰς Μέμφιν⟩ πορεύεσθαι ὥστε τεινὰς διερχομένους λέγειν αὕτη ἦν παντοτρόφος εἰς ἣν κατοικεῖ πᾶν γένος ἀνδρῶν

Col. iii

καὶ τότε ἡ Αἴγυπτος αὐξηθήσεται
ἐπὰν ὁ τὰ πεντήκοντα πέντε
65 ἔτη ἀπὸ Ἡλίου παραγενόμενος
ἀγαθῶν δοτὴρ καθεσταμέν[ο]ς ⟨ἦ⟩
ὑπὸ θεᾶς μεγίστης ὥστε εὔ-
ξασθαι τοὺς π[ερ]μόντας καὶ
τοὺς προ{σ}τετελευκότας ἀν[α-]
70 ρτῆναι ἵνα μετάρχωσι τῶν
ἀγαθῶν ἐπὶ τέλει δ[ὲ] κακῶν
ξηρὰ ποτισα....[.]σιλε.καν[ ]
θα φυλλοροήσει [κ]αὶ ὁ λειφ⟨θ⟩εὶς ὕ-
δωρ Νεῖλος πεπληρώμενος ἐλεύ-
75 σεται καὶ ὁ μετημφιεσμένος χω-
μὼν ἰδείῳ δραμεῖται κύκλῳ
καὶ τὸ θέρος λήμψαιται ἴδι-
[ο]ν δρόμον εὔτακτοι ἄνεμοι
π[νεύ]σ[ουσιν] ἔσται ταῦτα

Rainer Fragment Col. i

1].ν καὶ παράνομον. Ὁ δὲ ποταμὸς 2]μον ὑδάτιον, αλλονεον ὥ[σ]τε πυρεύεσθαι 3] ἀλλὰ παρὰ φύσιν ἐν τῷ τῶν Τυφω[νί]ω(ν) 4] τάλαινα Αἴγυπτος κ[ε]κακουργη-[μέ]νη 5 τοῖς κατ]ά σου κακουργημένοις κακ[ουργήμ]ασι 6]εται οὐ θέλων βλέπειν τ[ὰ] ἐν Α[ἰγύ]πτῳ 7]ησει τοῖς σπόροις. Ἔσται τὰ τ[..]...απ[α]σα 8 γέω]ργος ὅσον οὐκ

ἔσπειρεν φ[όρ]ους αυτ.[9]στω διὰ τὸ {εν} ἐνδεεῖς αὐτο[ὺς εἶ]ναι τροφῶ(ν) 10]ερεισας ἀποίσεται τοῦτο [.....]σ 11] ἔσται ὃς καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺ[ς] καὶ τὰς γα[μετὰς 12] γὰρ ἐπεὶ ὁ μέγας θεὸς Ἥφαιστος [ἐπικ]ληθή- 13]ειν καὶ ἑαυτοὺς οἱ ζωνοφόροι αν..υσιον 14]σατος κακωθήσεται, μετελεύσεται δὲ ποσὶ 15]ωμηνιν καὶ πολλοὺς καταστρέψει αὐτῶν 16]καθέξει δὲ ἐκ Συρίας ὁ μεισητός [τε κ]αὶ πᾶσι(ν) 17 ...ω[c. 9 ll.] μαιν]όλης ὑπάρχων καὶ ἀπὸ ετ[...].[.]...τεσ 18 ...ξ[c. 13 ll.] αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν ἀνοσίων εἰς Αἴγυπτον αι..θ[19] ὕστερον ἐρημωθήσεται. Ὁ δὲ τὰ δύο ὁ[ρ]μημε 20 ...ρτοι [c. 11 ll. κα]λῶς ....ισμενα αμμρνος τε ἔφη καλῶς 21 ...ουτι [c. 12 ll.], ζω[νοφό]ροι τὰ τούτων τέκνα ἥ τε χώρα ἀκατάστα- 22 ...καὶ [c. 12 ll.]οι τῶν τὴν Αἴγυπτον κατοικούντων καταλει- 23]τὰ ἴδια ἐπὶ ξένης πορισθήσονται παρακληθ- 24]τὰ ἑαυτῶν κακὰ ἧσσον ἢ τὰ ἐκείνων καὶ απ[25]γηαυτας.. [ἀ]λλήλ[ω]ν δύο ἐξ αὐτῶν.[26]υμω.....
..... 27 [..]ν [.....].....λυσε....γο.. 28 [..]θ[.....].....
..... καὶ τῇ ταλαί[νῃ 29 [. τη]ν τ[ῶν ζωνο]φ[όρω]ν πόλιν καταπατει .....
30 [..]υμ[.....] ελ.ξ..... ἐνκτισθήσεται ..... 31 [..]σει[.....μ]ενος .....λο παραγένηται ει[.....]ταρ 32 [..]ειν[.....]ων ἥ τε [τῶν ζωνο]φόρων πόλις ἐρημωθήσεται αν- 33 [..].. [.....] κάμινος διὰ τὰς ἀνομίας ἃς ἐποιήσαντο τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ

1 Dr. Musurillo suggests that φιλοκαλομελής might be coined on the analogy of ἀστειομελής, but its relevance here would not be obvious and it is more probable that here as elsewhere the writer has omitted some word or words.

2 If the subject of ἄρξει is the good king we might supply βὰ]ς or possibly, as the writer's spacing is uneven, εἰαβὰ]ς. But at this point the evil king is more likely to be the subject; we should then supply πάση]ς and translate εἰς *up to, as far as*.

κτιζομένη πόλις: some light is shed on this singular expression by *Asclepius* p. 332, 19 seq. 'conlocabuntur (*sc. di* cf. note 231, p. 384) in civitate in summo initio Aegypti quae a parte solis occidentis condetur, ad quam terra marique festinabit omne mortale genus'. (I have to thank Professor Alexander for first calling my attention to this passage.) But it should be noted (1) that the future is far more intelligible than the present, (2) that the reference in the *Asclepius* is to an unidentified and unidentifiable New Jerusalem (see the editors' note referred to above), whither the gods of the country will eventually return in triumph, not as here to a city where they have been installed as unwilling guests by hated foreigners. For the identity of the city see introduction, p. 93, n. 3.

3 I owe the supplement to Professor Nock. ἴδιον πλάσμα: perhaps an allusion to the Sarapis cult.

4 Emendation seems unavoidable here; perhaps ἐκ]λυθεῖσα or κακοπ]αθήσασα (Nock) should be read.

5 Either πραθεῖσαι or πραθήσεται may lurk here.

6 ? l. τα]φή and cf. here and in l. 7 *Asclepius* p. 327, 12: 'tunc terra ista sanctissima . . . sepulchrorum erit mortuorumque plenissima'. W. Scott (note ad loc.) remarks that the Latin translator probably confused ταφή and τάφος and consequently wrote *sepulchrorum* for *funerum*.

7 The reading at the end is certain. Perhaps read {σ}τε ⟨ἐ⟩ξ; alternatively some form of στέγω or, as Professor Alexander suggests, of τοξότης may be concealed here. As he points out, 'bowmen' was one of the standard synonyms in Ancient Egypt for 'foreign warriors', cf. 'The Instruction for King Meri-Ka-Re', translated in J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, pp. 414–18 and especially p. 417: 'when thy frontier is endangered towards the [southern] region, it means that the [northern] bowmen will take on the girdle'.

9 l. ὁ ἐξ ἰδίας . . . ἀσεβείας; ἁμαρτανας may conceivably be for ἁμαρτών; μάνας (Nock) is unfortunately an impossible reading.

10 *συμφωνήσει*: [for the underlying ideas of this passage cf. F. Boll, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 343 and especially note 1 quoting Firmicus Maternus 8. 31. 9. A.D.N.]

11 Perhaps *σπαρε]ισει* (l. *σπαρεῖσι*), followed by *ἐγ[ε]ί*.

12 Perhaps l. *κλείβανον* = *κρίβανον*.

13 *ἔνδειαν*: [Boll (*Aus der Offenbarung Iohannis*, p. 4 note 4) observes that parallels to this passage, as also to the vocabulary of ll. 73 seq., can be found in Lydus, *de Ostentis*. A.D.N.]

Perhaps l. [*γ*]*ῆ ἄποκος ἐκφθαρήσεται*; the spacing may have been unintentional.

15 seq. [For the language of this passage on 'the woes of Egypt' and also for ll. 34 seq. we may compare Lydus, *de Ostentis* 74 B, C (= p. 51 ed. Wachsmuth): [*ἐὰν κέ*]*ραυνος πέσῃ εἰς γῆν πόλεις παράλιοι ἐρημωθήσον*[*ται καὶ ἀπ*]*ορία ἔσται ἀνδρῶν* and the immediately following lines; also Hephaistion of Thebes (ed. A. Engelbrecht), p. 85, ll. 13 seq. Cf. also the passage from Nechepso-Petosiris quoted by F. Boll, *Aus der Offenbarung Iohannis*, p. 83 A.D.N.]. The 'woes of Egypt' also feature in the Cambyses Romance (which survives in Coptic and Ethiopic), but are these related to one specific situation? I have not detected any parallelisms between the Romance (for which see most recently A. Klasens in *Ex Oriente Lux* x, pp. 45–48, with references) and the Oracle.

17 For the darkening of the sun cf., for example, the passage quoted by McCown (op. cit., p. 384) from *The Vision of Neferrohu* (XVIIIth Dynasty): also Isaiah xiii 10: Mt. xxiv 29

19 Here again *σπαρ*]*ᾶσειν* (l. *σπαρεῖσιν*) may be conjectured.

ἀνεμόφθορα κτλ.: cf. *Asclepius* p. 329. 22 'fructus terrae corrumpentur nec fecunda tellus erit et aër ipse maesto torpore languescet'.

20 seq. Cf. the passage from *The Admonitions of Ipuwer* (XIIth Dynasty) cited by McCown, op. cit., p. 373.

24 If Reitzenstein is right, we should see an allusion (though one long lost on the contemporaries of **2332**) to Cambyses (cf. R 11); a word meaning *murderer* or *ravisher* would precede *ἔσται*.

25 *Κν*]*ῆφεις* (*-ις*), equated by Philo of Byblus *ap.* Euseb. *Prep. Ev.* 1. 10. 48 with Agathos Daimon, would be the obvious supplement, were it not for R. On the basis of its text *Ἡφαισ*⟨*τος*⟩ should be read, and [*ἐπικ*]*ληθη-* which all editors of R accept should be corrected to *ἐβου*]*λήθη*. The reference will be to the return of Ptâh–Hephaestus to his own city of Memphis while at the same time (l. 26) the enemy retire.

26 Perhaps [*πόλιν κατελθεῖν καὶ ἑαυτ*]*ο*[*ῦς*.

ἀνελουσείον[*τες*: this collection of letters recurs in l. 50 and is also clearly present in R 13 where Radermacher's final reading has *αναλουσιον* (Manteuffel gives *ἄνῳ χῆς ἰόν*[*τες* which has been generally adopted by editors). From R it is clear that the verb in question is used with a reflexive, and the *-είω* termination indicates a desiderative. I suggest that we recognize either **ἀναλυσείω* used with a reflexive = *wish to withdraw oneself* (though there is no analogous use of *ἀναλύω* with the reflexive corresponding to the intransitive use of the word) or a new compound of *ἀνά* with the causal *ἐλεύθω* (Doric future *ἐλευσίω*). The sense would be much the same, and there would be no need for emendation; for the survival of Doric forms in the popular language see L. Radermacher, *N T. Grammatik*[2], p. 5.

27 R's *κακωθήσεται* is clearly right.

28 I can make no sense either of *μηνῃν* or of R's *μηνιν*.

29 There may be sufficient space to allow the reading *αὐτοῖς τοῖ*]*ς κτλ.*

30 See introduction. An allusion to Antiochus Epiphanes may have been read into the oracle by contemporaries; it is worth noting that in an anecdote narrated by Dio (*Or.* xxxii 101) *ὁ τύραννος τῶν Σύρων* has plausibly been identified with Antiochus by N. Lewis (*Class. Phil.* xliv (1949) 32–33), though Professor Lewis does not mention that Dio describes the victim of the incident as *τινὶ τῶν σφόδρα ἀρχαίων*. (I owe the reference to P. M. Fraser.)

31 The final letter of the line looks like *ρ* or possibly *ο* written above the normal line level. This letter may follow immediately on the *δ*; before the *δ* an *ε* is possible.

32 seq. These lines, with the last word of l. 31, down to *ἀμνός* in l. 34 may well be a later insertion by way of comment on what precedes; the sentence beginning *ὁ δὲ* looks forward to l. 64.

34 *Β*[*ό*]*κχαριν* cannot be read; there may, however, be only one letter preceding the *α* and the scribe was quite capable of writing *Βάχαριν*. But even this scribe could hardly have written *ημεν* for *εἶπεν*.

37 Perhaps *αὐτ*⟨*οὶ τ*⟩*ών*, cf. R 22.

39 Perhaps [*εἶ*]*λον* ⟨*ἢ*⟩.

42 Perhaps *ἀνεχώ*|[*ρησ*]*αν* for *ἀνεχώρησεν*; but a future would be expected.

45 For the freeing of slaves and the reversal of positions in society, etc., cf. *The Admonitions of Ipuwer* (McCown, op. cit., p. 374).

κοίρειοι: l. *κύριοι*.

46 l. *βίου*.

47 *ἀνήρ*: perhaps a mistake for *πατήρ*.

51 It was not uncommon for gods to abandon a city before it fell; cf. the instances quoted by W. W. Tarn in *CAH* x 108[1] (I owe the reference to P. M. Fraser).

52 This is the only recorded instance of a non-Christian use of *θεοτόκος*; its Christian use was probably of independent growth. The earliest examples in Christian literature are also Egyptian: Origen, *Sel. in DT.* 22: 23 (Migne, *P.G.* xii 813 c), and Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria (Migne, *P.G.* xviii 568 c). [On the early history of this word and the genuineness of the passage in Origen see A. Harnack in *Texte u. Untersuchungen* xiii (= 3rd series, vol. xii), 3, p. 87. A.D.N.]

54 In the parallel sentence in R 32 Reitzenstein first restored *ἀν*[*δρῶν*], correctly as can now be seen; later (op. cit., p. 43[1]) he withdrew it.

57 The word after *τὰ* is not *ἱερὰ* and the traces are too scant to allow of any conjecture being confirmed.

60 As R shows, the correct reading here is *διὰ* ⟨*τὸ*⟩ *τὸν Ἀγαθὸν Δαιμόνα καὶ Κνῆφιν εἰς Μέμφιν*. Wilcken (*UPZ*, note on no. 78 l. 35) regards Knephis and Agathodaemon as distinct on the ground that their identification would necessitate altering the present passage to ⟨*τὸν*⟩ *καὶ*. This, however, is unnecessary [for the use of *καί* to denote identity see A. J. Festugière in *Vivre et Penser* ii (1942), p. 57. A.D.N.].

On Agathodaemon as the tutelary deity of Alexandria see E. Visser, *Götter u. Kulte im Ptolemäischen Alexandrien*, pp. 5 seq.

61–62. Cf. the passage from Plutarch, *Vit. Alex.* 20 to which Reitzenstein first drew attention (cited by Norden, op. cit., p. 55[2]): *πολυαρκεστάτην γὰρ οἰκίζεσθαι πόλιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐσομένην τροφόν*: W. W. Tarn (*Journal of Hellenic Studies* xlviii (1928), p. 215) has pointed out a similar passage in the Alexander Romance which in his opinion shows acquaintance with the text of the Oracle.

πάντροφος and *κατοικείσθη* R.

65 After *ἔτη* add *εὐμενὴς ὑπάρχων* R: *παραγένηται*+*βασιλεῦς* R.

On 'the king from the sun (or the east?)' see introduction, p. 91, note 5 and p. 93, note 2. Both Professor Nock and Professor Alexander have called my attention to the lines of the Babylonian Sibyl (*Or. Sib.* 652–3), also quoted by Altheim (op. cit. i 105):

καὶ τότ' ἀπ' ἠελίοιο θεὸς πέμψει βασιλῆα
ὃς πᾶσαν γαῖαν παύσει πολέμοιο κακοῖο.

67 After *μεγίστης* add *Ἴσιδος* R.

71 *κακῶν*: *τούτων* R, followed immediately by *φυλλοροήσει*.

72 This line is not represented in R. Perhaps l. *ποτισ*⟨*θεῖσ*⟩*α*.

73 *ὕδασι* R.

74 *πεπλ. ἑλ.*: *πληρωθήσεται* R.

75 l. *χειμὼν*; before it R inserts *ἀσύμφωνος*.

76 *ἴδιον . . . δρόμον* (+*κύκλον* erased) R.

78 *εὔτακτοι δὲ ἄνεμοι πνοιαὶ ἔσονται απ.*ο[.] *ἀπαλῶς ἐλαττούμεναι* R. Reitzenstein proposes to read *εἰλιττόμεναι*: before it perhaps *αἱ παγαπαλῶς*. There is no *ἔσται ταῦτα* in R, but before the concluding narrative section (not represented in **2332**) R has two further lines of prophecy: *ἐν γὰρ τῷ τῶν Τυφωνίων ὁ ἥλιος ἠμαυρώθη. Ἐκλάμψας δικὴν τῶν κακῶν δείξας καὶ σπάνιν τῶν ζωνοφόρων ἥ τε Αἴγυπτος* (then follows the narrative). Perhaps the scribe reverted to R ii 5 (= l. 73), and forgot to erase.

EXTANT CLASSICAL AUTHORS

2333. Aeschylus, *Septem*

Fr. (*a*) 10·2 × 27·5 cm. Second century.

Two pieces, the one from the central and lower part of a column and well preserved, the other the tattered remnants of the preceding column, composed of six smaller fragments.

The text is written along the fibres in a large but delicate hand with occasional serifs; it may be compared with **20**, with P. Tebt. 265, and the Bodleian *Iliad* (Kenyon, *Palaeography*, pl. xx). It was a luxury edition with 18 lines to the column, an upper margin of 6·5 cm., and a lower margin of 8·5 cm.; a space of 4·5 cm. was left between the columns. The complete roll must have been over 40 feet in length, longer than 'the extreme limit of a normal Greek literary roll' as laid down by Kenyon (*Books and Readers*, p. 54); for another roll of similar length, cf. **2336**.

The text agrees essentially with the medieval tradition (e.g. the suspected l. 650 is retained). There are, however, one or two variants; of particular interest for the tradition is the *varia lectio* recorded in the margin against l. 634.[1]

Collated with the Oxford text of Murray.

Fr. (*a*)

[εχθροξενον πυλωρον αντιτα]ξομεν
[γεροντα τον νουν σαρκα δ ηβωσαν] φυσει
[ποδωκες ομμα χειρα δ ου βραδυνετ]ᾳι
[παρ ασπιδος γυμνωθεν αρπ]ασαι δο[ρ]ῃ
625 [θεοῦ δε δωρον εστιν ευτυχει]ν βροτοις
[κλυοντες θεοι δικαι]ους λιτας
[ημετερας τελειθ ως πο]λις ευ[τυχ]ῃ
[ ]
[επιμολους βαλων πυργων δ] εκτοθεν
630 [Ζευς σφε κανοι κεραυ]νω
[τον εβδομον δη τονδ εφ εβδομαις πυλ]αι[ς]
[ ]
[ ]
[πυργοις επεμβας καπικηρυχθεις χθον]ι ξ [γ]ηρυθεις
635 [αλωσιμον παιαν επεξιακ]χαρ[ς]

[1] A minute and isolated scrap whose exact position cannot be determined contains traces of another *varia lectio* or marginal note]*τον*[....]*λον*[; cf. the scholion on l. 628 ἀπορίπτοντες ἀποβάλλοντες. The scribe may have abbreviated the first word and followed it by βάλλοντες.

[σοι ξυμφερεσθαι και κταν]ω[ν] θανειν [πε]λας
[η ζωντ ατιμαστηρα τως α]νδρηλατην
[φυγηι τον αυτον τονδε τεισ]αρθαι τροπ[ο]ν

Fr. (*b*)

. . . . . .
[χρυσηλατον γαρ ανδρα τε]υχ[ηστην ιδειν]
645 [αγει γυνη τις σωφρ]ον[ω]ς ηγ[ουμενη]
[δικη δ αρ ειναι φησ]ιν ως τα γραμμα[τα]
[λεγει καταξω δ ανδ]ρα τονδε κα[ι] τολ[ιν]
[εξει πατρωαν δω]ματων τ επ[ι]στροφ[ας]
[τοιαυτ εκεινων εσ]τι ταξευρηματα
650 [συ δ αυτος ηδη γνω]θι τ[ι]να πεμπειν δοκει
[ως ουποτ ανδρι τωδε] κ[η]ρ[υ]κευματων
[μεμψηι συ δ αυτος γν]ωθι ναυκληρειν πα[
[ω θεομανες τε και] θεον [μ]εγα στυγος
[ω πανδακρυτον αμ]ον οιδιπου γενος
655 [ωμοι πατρος δη νυ]ν αραι τελεσφορο[ι]
[αλλ ουτε κλαιειν ουτ] ρδυρεσθαι π[ρεπει]

622 φυσει: so MQ; φέρει Φ γρ. Q; φύει Murray after Wellauer.
625 βροτοις: βροτούς cett.
626 δικαιους: so Φ; δικαίας cett.; for the preference for the masculine form of certain adjectives in the papyrus texts cf. **2335**, note to l. 956.
629 For the word order as given above there is no warrant in any other MS., but the position of the surviving letters in relation to the preceding and following lines makes it certain that 27–29 letters have been lost before εκτοθεν, while the margin to the right precludes us from reading βαλων after it as do all other MSS.
634 The letter before the *varia lectio* resembles perhaps a ξ as much as a ζ, but for the latter cf. **2165**, fr. 1, i 4: certainly neither γρ(άφεται) nor λ(έγεται) can be read.
A variant reading κάπιγυρωθεὶς is preserved by P (cf. Wilamowitz, *Aeschyli Tragoediae* ad loc.) which can now be seen to be a corruption of κάπιγηρυθεὶς and, in this form, to be of considerable antiquity; neither word is to be found in LSJ.
637 ανδρηλατην: so all MSS.; ἀνδρηλατῶν Blomfield.
650 Deleted by Murray, following Halm and Wilamowitz. It is found in all MSS.
652 πα[; πόλιν cett. Probably the papyrus read πατραν.
653 l. θεῶν.

2334. Aeschylus, *Septem*

17 × 16·8 cm. Later second century.

Written along the fibres in a rounded, heavy hand, the precursor of the so-called 'Biblical uncial', cf. P. Ryl. iii 547, **2169**, and **661** introd. The height of a column of writing was 14 cm., that of the roll approximately 18 cm.; there were 27–28 lines to the column. Diaeresis, apostrophe, high and middle point are employed. The verso is blank.

The text is a poor one with several peculiar corruptions even in this limited space, but it is of interest that inferior variants in ll. 532 and 543 should prove to be of such antiquity. It is in keeping with the general character of the papyrus texts that ll. 547–9 are found in the same place in which they occur in all other manuscripts. With **2179** and **2333** this makes the third manuscript of this play to have been found at Oxyrhynchus.

Collated with the Oxford text of Murray. The text both of **2333** and of **2334** has been made available to Dr. Murray for his re-edition of the Oxford text.

Col. i

. . . . . .

[βακχαι προς αλκην θυιας ως φοβον βλεπ]ων·

[ ]

500 [ ]

[πρωτον μεν Ογκα Παλλας ητ αγχι]π̣τ̣ολ[ι]ς

σ̣·

[πυλαισι γειτων ανδρος] εχθαιρου ὕβριν

[ειρξει νεοσσων ως δρακοντα δυσχιμ]ο̣ρ̣ν·

. . . . . .

Col. ii

. . . . . .

ο[μνυσι δ αιχμην ην εχει μαλλον θεου]

530 σ[εβειν πεποιθως ομματων θ' υπερτερον]

η μ[ην λαπαξειν αστυ Καδμειων βιαι]

δορ[ος τοδ αυδαι μητρος εξ ορεσκοου]

βλαστ̣ημ[α καλλιπρῳρον ανδροπαις ανηρ]

στειχε̣ι δ' ἵ[ουλος αρτι δια παρηιδων]

535 ωρας φυρ[υσης ταρφυς αντελλουσα θριξ]

ο δ' ωμον [ουτι παρθενων επωνυμον]

φρουρημα [γοργον δ ομμ εχων προσισταται]

ου μην ακ[ομπαστος γ εφισταται πυλαις]

[τ]ο γαρ πολε[ως ονειδος εν χαλκηλατωι]

540 [σακ]ει κυκ[λωτωι σωματος προβληματι]

[σφι]γγα ωμ[οσιτον προσμεμηχανημενην]

[...]ποις εν[ωμα λαμπρον εκκρουστον δεμας]

φερει δ' υπ α[υτη φωτα Καδμειων ενα]

ως πλειστ' [επ ανδρι τωδ ιαπτεσθαι βελη]

545 ελθων δ' εο[ικεν ου καπηλευσειν μαχην]

μακρας κελ[ευθου δ ου καταισχυνειν πορον]

Παρθενοπ[αιος αρκας ο δε τοιοσδ ανηρ]

μετοικρ[ς αργει δ εκτινων καλας τροφας]

πυργοις [απειλει τοισδ α μη κραινοι θεος]

ϛ

550 ει γαρ τ[υχοιεν ων φρονουσι προς θεων]

αυτοι[ς εκεινοις ανοσιοις κομπασμασιν]

η ταν [πανωλεις παγκακως τ ολοιατο]

502 The sigma and apostrophe have probably been added by the first hand.

532 δορος: so A and γρ. PQ; Διός rell.

537 φρουρημα: φρόνημα cett.

542 γόμφοις cett.; our scribe probably wrote γομποις, an aural error occasioned by the frequent use of κόμπος and related words in this play.

543 υπ α[υτη]: so H; ὑφ' αὑτῇ (i.e. Σφιγγί) rell.

547–9 The papyrus agrees with all other MSS. in placing these three lines at the end of the Messenger's speech; Murray, following Kirchhoff and Wilamowitz, transposes 547–8 to follow immediately on 537 and deletes 549 (after Wilamowitz) as a variant of l. 426. Other editors have bracketed all three as spurious.

550 ϛτ(εοκλης) added by a second hand who observed that the usual paragraphus had been omitted.

2335. Euripides, *Andromache*

6·3 × 18 cm. Second century.

Written on the verso of the papyrus in a rapid and slanting semi-literary hand which I should assign to the second half of the century; on the recto are eight incomplete lines of a document (l. 4 reads] βαφικῆς ιθ (ἔτους)).

The text has been carelessly transcribed (there are several itacisms and iota adscript is omitted), but is itself of considerable interest. There are two new readings

(ll. 962 and 984) which merit attention, the second of which occurs in a line which has never been queried by editors and offers a sense superior to that of the tradition. No alteration of the text by a modern scholar finds any support. **2335** is closer perhaps to O and D among the medieval manuscripts than to any other (B is not extant for ll. 957–1211), but, as its peculiar readings show, the connexion is not close. In quality it is reminiscent of the *Bacchae* papyrus, **2223**, rather than of the ordinary papyrus of the Roman period.

The other papyri of this play are: **449** (third century), P. Ross.-Georg. I 8 (eighth century), P. Harr. 39 (second century).

Col. i

[αγαν εφηκας γλωσσαν εις το συμφυτο]ν
955 [συγγνωστα μεν νυν σοι ταδ αλλ ομ]ως χρεων
[κοσμειν γυναικας τας γυναικειο]υς νοσους
[σοφον τι χρημα του διδαξαντος] β[[..]]οτους
[λογους ακουειν των εναντιων πα]ρα
[εγω γαρ ειδως τωνδε συγχυσιν δο]μων
960 [εριν τε την σην και γυναικος Εκτο]ρος
[φυλακας εχων εμιμνον ειτ α]υτου μενεις
[ειτ εκφοβηθεις αιχμαλωτιδος φ]θονω
[γυναικος οικων τωνδ απηλλαχθαι θελε]ις
[ηλθον δε σας μεν ου σεβων επιστολας]
965 [ει δ ενδιδοιης ωσπερ ενδιδως λογο]ν
[πεμψων σ απ οικων τωνδ εμη γαρ] ουσα πριν
[συν τωδε ναιεις ανδρι σου πατρο]ς κακη
[ος πριν τα Τροιας εισβαλειν ορισ]ματα
[γυναικ εμοι σε δους υπεσχεθ] υστερον
970 [τω νυν σ εχοντι Τρωαδ ει περσοι] πολιν
[επει δ Αχιλλεως δευρ ενοστησε]ν γονος
[σω μεν συνεγνων πατρι τον δ]ε ελισσομην
[γαμους αφειναι σους εμας λεγω]ν τυχας
[και τον παροντα δαιμον ω]ς φιλων μεν αν
975 [γημαιμ απ ανδρων εκτοθεν δ ου] ραδιως
[φευγων απ οικων ας εγω φευγω φ]υγας
[ο δ ην υβριστης εις τ εμης μη]τρος φονον
[τας θ αιματωπους θεας ονειδιζ]ων εμοι

[καγω ταπεινος ων τυχαις τα]ις οικοθεν
980 [ηλγουν μεν ηλγουν συμφορα]ις δ ηνιχομην
[σων δε στερηθεις ωχομην]ειν δομων
[νυν ουν επειδη περιπετεις ε]χεις τυχας

Col. ii

και ξυμφορ[αν τηνδ εισπεσουσ αμηχανεις]
αξω σ εσ οικ[ον και πατρος δωσω χερι]
985 το συνγενε[ς γαρ δεινον εν τε τοις κακοις]
ουκ εστιν [ουδεν κρεισσον οικειου φιλου]
Ερμῖ̄ νυμφευ[ματων μεν των εμων πατηρ εμος]
λ
μεριμνα[ν εξει κουκ εμον κρινειν τοδε]
αλλ ως ταχισ[τα τωνδε μ εκπεμψον δομων]
990 μη φθη μ[ε προσβας δωμα και μολων ποσις]
η πρεσβυ[ς οικους μ εξερημουσαν μαθων]
Πηλευς μ[ετελθη πωλικοις διωγμασιν]
Ορεσ[τ θαρσει γερ[οντος χειρα τον δ Αχιλλεως]
μηδεν [φοβηθης παιδ οσ εις εμ υβρισε]
995 τοιη γαρ αυτ[ω μηχανη πεπλεγμενη]
βροχοις ακι[νητοισιν εστηκεν φονου]
προς τη[σ]δ[ε χειρος την παρος μεν ουκ ερω]
τελουμεν[ων δε Δελφις εισεται πετρα]
ρ μητροφ[οντης δ την δορυξενων εμων]
1000 μνωσιν [ορκοι Πυθικην ανα χθονα]
[δει]ξει γαμ[ειν σφε μηδεν ων εχρην εμε]
[πι]κρως δε [πατρος φονιον αιτησει δικην]
[ανακ]τα [Φοιβον ουδε νιν μεταστασις]
[γνω]μης [ονησει θεω διδοντα νυν δικας]
1005 αλ' εκ τ' ε[κεινου διαβολαις τε ταις εμαις]
[κ]ακως ολε[ιται γνωσεται δ εχθραν εμην]
εχθρων γα[ρ ανδρων μοιραν εις αναστροφην]
δαιμων δι[δωσι κουκ εα φρονειν μεγα]
Χ ω [Φοιβε πυργωσας τον εν Ιλιω ευ]
τε[ιχη παγον]

1010 κ[αι ποντιε κυανεαις ιπποις διφρευων]
αλ[ιον πελαγος]
τ̣[νος ουνεκ ατιμον οργαν]
1015 αλ[ ]
Ε̣γ[υαλιω δοριμηστορι προσθεντες]
τα[λαιναν ταλαιναν μεθειτε Τροιαν]
πλ[ειστους δ επ ακταισιν Σιμοεντισιν ευ]
ιπ[πους οχους]
1020 εζ[ευξατε και φονιους ανδρων αμιλλας]
εθ[ετ αστεφανους]
απ[ο δε κτλ.

956 γυναικειο]υς: so BOPH; γυναικείας rell. The masculine form is found in *Iph. Aul.* 233 (when the feminine would be metrically inadmissible) and in Aesch. *Ch.* 878.

μέτριος in similarly treated as being of two terminations in *Med.* 839 in P. Ant. 23, cf. note ad loc.

962 φ]θονω; φόβῳ rell. Murray following Lenting emends to φόνῳ though the sense it yields is strained. The reading of **2335** gives excellent sense and should be preferred.

972 Elsewhere elided vowels are not written and possibly we should debit the scribe with another error and read ε̣ιλισσομην.

975 ραδιως: ρ̣ᾳδιον LV².

981 The medieval MSS. read σῶν δὲ στερηθεὶς ᾠχόμην ἄκων γάμων (σοῦ . . . ὄγκων V, σων and γρ. ἄκων V²). What **2335** read can only be conjectured.

983 The projection of the initial letter of a column is noticeable at this early date.

984 ες οικ[ον; ἀπ' οἴκων rell. There is little to choose between the two readings and that of the medieval MSS. has not been queried, but it is arguable that with the latter τῶνδε might reasonably be expected whereas ἐς οἶκον can mean 'home', *tout court*.

985–6 Hermann's attribution of this distich to the Chorus with the consequential change of γὰρ to τοι finds no support.

987 λ' = λέγει.

990 Prinz–Wecklein assume a lacuna after this line.

991 η πρεσβυ[ς οικους: so OD and apogr. Par. 2818; ἢ παιδὸς οἴκους P²; γρ. οἴκους τε τούσδ' V² (οἴκους τε τούσδε μ' Haun.); . . . οἴκους MAVLP. The readings of P²V² and Haun. are attempts to fill the lacuna left blank in MAVLP.

995 l. τοία.

1000 l. μείνωσιν.

1001 [δει]ξει: so all MSS.; δείξω Herwerden, followed by Prinz–Wecklein.

1002 πικρὸς MP; πικρὰν Cobet.

1005 l. ἀλλ'.

1014 ὀργάναν (ὀργάνναν L) medieval MSS. and scholia; ὀργᾶς ἂν Murray.

1020 ἐζεύξατε om. A.

2336. Euripides, *Helena*

8×15·2 cm. Later first century B.C.

Part of two columns written in an elegant and slightly irregular hand reminiscent of Schubart, *Tafeln* 11(*b*) and id. *Pal.* abb. 73. There were 25 lines to the column and a roll containing the entire play could not have been less than 40 ft. in length.

No complete line survives, which is the more unfortunate since the text differs widely from the LP tradition; if ll. 640–4 had alone survived, they could scarcely have been recognized as belonging to the play. This is the first fragment of the *Helena* (excluding a quotation in Chrysippus) to be found on a papyrus.

The verso is blank.

Col. i

630 [καγω σε πολλους δ εν μεσωι λογ]ους εχων
[ουκ οιδ οποιου πρωτον αρξωμαι τ]α νυν
[γεγη]θα κρ[ατι δ ορθιους εθειρ]ας
[ανεπ]τερωσ[α και] δ̣ᾳ[κρυ] σταλασσω
[περι] δ̣ε γυια χερας εβ[αλον] ηδονη
635 [.....]ς ως λαβω
[.....] ω φιλτατα προσοψις
[ουκ εμε]μφθην
[εχω τα τ]ου Διος λεκτρα Ληδας τε
[αν υπο λα]μπαδων κοροι
[λευκιπ]ποι ξυνομαιμονες
640 [.....ω]λβισαν εμε σε τε ματαν
[.....]ν
[.....]ν
[.....]ν γ ελαυνει θεος
[.....] κρεισσω
[το κακον δ αγ]αθον
[σε τε καμε συ]γαγαγεν ποσει
645 [χρονιον αλλ ο]μως ονα[ι]μαν τυχας
[.....]σαδ̣ε ξ̣υνευχ̣ρ̣μα[ι]
[δυοιν γαρ οντοι]ν ουχ ο μεν τλημων [ο] δ̣ ου

[φιλαι φιλαι]
[τα παρος ουκε]τι στενομεν ουδ αλγω
650 [ποσιν εμον ε]χομεν εχομεν ον εμενον
[εμενον εκ Τρο]ας πολυετη μολειν

Col. ii

. . . . . .
κ[αγω σε την δοκουσαν Ιδαιαν πολιν]
[μολειν Ιλιου τε μελεους πυργους]
660 π[ρος θεων δομων πως των εμων απεσταλης]
[ε ε πικρας ες αρχας βαινεις]
[ε ε πικραν δ ερευνας φατιν]
λεγ [ως ακουστα παντα δωρα δαιμονων]
[απεπτυσα μεν λογον]
[οιον οιον εσοισομαι]
665 δ̲[
ο[υκ επι βαρβαρου λεκτρα νεανια]
π[ετομενας κωπας]
[πετομενου δ ερωτος αδικων γαμων]
[τις γαρ σε δαιμων η ποτμος συλαι πατρας]
670 ο Δ[ιος
μ[
μ̲[
θα[υμ]α[στα του πεμψαντος ω δεινοι λογοι]
κα̲[τεδακρυσα και βλεφαρον υγραινω]
δα̲[κρυσιν α Διος μ αλοχος ωλεσεν]

633 ανεπ]τερωσ[α: ἀνεπτέρωκα LP. The aorist, which can be regarded as co-ordinate with ἔβαλον, is at least as appropriate as the perfect here.

634–5 χερας: so Elmsley and subsequent editors; χεῖρας LP. ἡδονὰν | ὡς λάβω, ὦ πόσις LP: ἀδονὰν, | ὦ πόσις, ὡς λάβω Elmsley. The alteration in word order in l. 635 is accepted by Murray and is justified by the papyrus. ηδονη may be regarded as an error for the accusative or may be regarded as a dative, in which case we should read ω ποσι] σ in l. 635; but though the scribe does not employ the apostrophe to make an elision we should expect iota adscript in a MS. of this date.

636 φιλτατα: φιλτάτη LP. This (cf. l. 634) illustrates the prevailing confusion about the use of 'Doric' forms in tragedy.

638 του: so LP; corrected to τῆς by Schaefer followed by editors. Ληδας τε: so LP; Διός τε λέκτρα Λήδας θ' Murray after Reisig.

640 seq. ὤλβισαν ὤλβισαν | τὸ πρόσθεν, ἐκ δόμων δ' ἐνόσφισαν θεοί σ' ὁμοῦ | πρὸς ἄλλαν δ' ἐλαύνει LP. Most editors follow Elmsley in deleting θεοί, in emending to δὲ νοσφίσας and σ' ἐμοῦ, and in deleting the δ' in l. 642. All that can safely be said of the text of **2336** is that (i) it differed radically from the tradition and from the text of modern editors, (ii) it probably agreed with the tradition against modern editors in reading two co-ordinate clauses, since the final ν's suggest an aorist third plural. In 640 τὸ πρόσθεν may have taken the place of the first ὤλβισαν; in 641 ενοσφισα]ν would suit quite well (for νοσφίζειν with two accusatives cf. Pindar, *Nem.* vi 62); in 643 πρὸς ἄλλαν would fit the space well.

After θεός LP read συμφόραν τᾶσδε κρείσσω; there is not room for more than ten letters before κρεισσω in the papyrus.

644 συνάγαγε πόσιν LP; συνάγαγεν, ὦ πόσι Dindorf; πόσι Hermann. ποσει of the papyrus is probably for πόσι; but it is not impossible that its reading in the missing parts of ll. 644 and 645 was different and that a dative was intended.

646 ὄναιο δῆτα· ταὐτὰ δὴ ξυνεύχομαι LP.

650–1 Here the papyrus pretty certainly offered the same text as do LP whose reading is kept by Prinz–Wecklein; for various emendations and corrections see their apparatus and Murray's.

665 ὅμως δὲ λέξον LP. The papyrus may have read δίδασκέ μ'.

666 There was no doubt a paragraphus beneath this line; the surface of the papyrus has flaked.

670–1 Here LP read ὁ Διὸς ὁ Διός, ὦ πόσι, παῖς μ' ἐπέλασεν (ἐπέλασε L) Νείλῳ with which the two surviving μ's of **2336** cannot be reconciled. Hermann suggested either με παῖς Ἑρμᾶς or με παῖς Μαίας; **2336**'s reading was probably longer than either of these.

2337. EURIPIDES, *MEDEA*

15·0 × 12·7 cm. Later first century A.D.

Written on the verso in a small, rounded hand with occasional serifs of the same type as the more elegant hand of Schubart, *Tafeln* 19(*c*); it stands half-way between the hand of Schubart, *Pal.* abb. 75 and the fully rounded Roman hand of the second century. There were twenty-seven lines to the page. On the recto is part of a register of contracts in which there is a reference to Sarapion and Theon βιβλιοφύλακες, dated in the reign of Claudius or Nero.

2337 offers a characteristic Roman text; where the medieval manuscripts differ it never agrees with any of them in error, and in the major crux in ll. 1181–2 it probably did not deviate, again characteristically, from the manuscript tradition. On the other hand, it contributes some stupid blunders of its own, three new readings of little consequence (ll. 1172, 1175, and 1180: the last supports an emendation of Cobet's), and one (l. 1183) which deserves consideration. The effect in this passage is that it is closer to B and P than to any other manuscript.

Next to the *Phoenissae* the *Medea* was the most popular of Euripides' plays in Greco-Roman Egypt. Lines 1171–7 are also found in Π^7 (to use the notation in D. L. Page, 'Euripides' *Medea*', with which **2337** has been collated).

Col. i

. . . . . .
[παιδων μυσαχθεισ ει]ϣϣδοϣς π[οσις δε [σος]
1150 [οργας τ αφηιρει και χολον] νεανιδ[ος
[λεγων ταδ ου μη δυσ]μενης εσ[η]ι φιλοις

[παυσηι δε θυμου και] παλιν στρεψε[ι]ς καρ[α]
[φιλους νομιζουσ ουσ]περ αν ποσις ϛεθ[ε]ν
[δεξηι δε δωρα και παραιτησ]η πατρος
1155 [φυγας αφειναι παισι τοισδ ε]μην χαριν
[η δ ως εσειδε κοσμον ουκ η]νεσχετο
[αλλ ηινεσ ανδρι παντα και] ϛριν εκ δομων
[μακραν απειναι πατερα κ]αι παιδας σεθεν
[λαβουσα πεπλους ποικιλο]υς ημπεσχετο
1160 [χρυσουν τε θεισα στεφανον] ϛμφι βοστρυχοις
[λαμπρωι κατοπτρωι σχημα]τιζεται κομην
[αψυχον εικω προσγελω]σα σωματος
[καπειτ ανασταση εκ θρο]νῳ[ν] διερχεται

Col. ii

. . . . . .
[και τις γεραια προσπολων δοξασα] πο[υ]
[η Πανος οργας η θεων τινο]ς μο[λειν]
[ανωλολυξε πριν γ οραι κα]ϛα στο[μα]
[χωρουντα λευκον αφρον ο]μμα[των τ απο]
1175 [κορας στρεφουσαν αιμα] δ ουκ [ενον χροι]
ειτ αντιμ[ολπον ηκ]εν ολολυγ[ης μεγαν]
κωκυτον· ϛυ[θυς δ η μ]εν εις πα[τρος δομους]
ωρμησεν· η δε προ[ς τ]ον αρτιω[ς ποσιν]
[φρ]ασουσα νυμφης [συ]μφ[ο]ρα[ν] ϛ[πασα] δε
1180 στεγη πυκνοισιν ε[κτυ]πϛ[ι] δρα[μη]μασιν
ηδη δ ανελκων κ[ ]ν δρομου
ταχυς βαδιστης [τερμονων αν]θηϛ[τε]το
οτ εξ αναυδου κα[ι μυσαντος ο]μματο[ς]
δεινον στεναϛ[ξασ η ταλαι]ν ηγε[ι]ρετο·
1185 διπλουν γαρ [α]υτη [πημ] επεστρατευετο
χρυσου μεν [αμφι κρατι] κειμενος πλοκος
θαυμαστον ιει [ναμα παμ]φαγου πυρος
πλεπλων δε λ[επτων σων] τεκνων δωρηματα
λευκην εδαπτο[ν σαρκα τ]ης δυσδαιμονος
1190 φευγει δ ανασ[τασ εκ θρονω]ν [π]υρο[υ]μενος

1150 *νεάνιδος χόλον* AV.
1158 *παιδας σεθεν*: so BP*IΠ*[1]; om. *σέθεν* L; *τέκνα σέθεν* AV.
1160 *βοστρύχους* L.
1172 *τινος θεῶν* rell.
1173 *κατα*: so LP*Π*[1]*Σ*; *διὰ* AVB.
1175 δ: *τ'* rell.
1180 *δραμημασιν*: so Cobet, correcting the *δρομήμασιν* of the MSS. (the emendation is accepted by Page: see his note ad loc.).
1181–2 In this corrupt passage the papyrus almost certainly agreed with the medieval MSS. at every point, reading *ἀνέλκων* (all MSS. and *Σ*), probably either *ἔκπλεθρον* with AVBP*Σ* or *ἔκπλεθρον* with L (*ἐκπλέθρου* Reiske), and *ἀνθήπτετο*, again with all MSS. and *Σ* (*ἂν ἥπτετο* Musgrave). It thus bears out Page's comment (introd., p. l) on the reading of another papyrus at a different point: 'our manuscripts' reading . . . is not a recent corruption, but a faithful preservation of the text which has been current since at least the third century B.C.'
1183 *οτ*: *ἡ δ'* rell. In favour of the papyrus reading it may be said (i) that the clause introduced by *ὅτε* gains from being closely linked with the preceding clause, (ii) that the initial *ἡ* of the other MSS., though unobjectionable, is unnecessary, (iii) that their reading could be explained as a dittography from l. 1181. If *ὅτε* is rejected, it might be explained as a simplification.
1184 *ηγειρετο*: so AVB *γρ. l*: *ἀπώλλυτο* LP.
1186 *πλοκος*: *κόσμος* V.
1188 The point above the first λ is a mark of erasure. The corrupt genitives *πεπλων . . . λεπτων* are peculiar to **2337**.
δε: so LP; *τε* AVB.
1189 *λευκην*: so B Haun.; *λεπτὴν* rell.
1190 *πυρουμενος*; this false reading may have been occasioned by the end of the preceding line.

DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS

(*a*) PUBLIC

2338. List of Poets, Trumpeters, and Heralds

70·9 × 32·6 cm. Late third century.

This document, written on the verso of **2346**, was doubtless drawn up for taxation purposes, as it records those whose victories in any given year entitled them to tax exemption. The competitions in question cannot have been the international festivities, success in which, as has long been known, entitled the victor to a solid financial reward; not only are the names too numerous but the absence of any mention of the location of the festival can only mean in an Oxyrhynchite text that it was held at Oxyrhynchus. Victors in the athletic contests at Antinoopolis, the Antinoeia, were given privileges similar to those enjoyed by the *ἱερονῖκαι* (P. Lond. 1164 (1): see A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, p. 297) and from **705** we learn that Aurelius Horion in establishing his benefaction for the ephebic contests at Oxyrhynchus laid down that the conditions of the competition were to be similar to those prevailing at Antinoopolis.[1] But hitherto there has been no evidence for such local generosity and, as A. H. M. Jones points out (*The Greek City*, p. 355, n. 42), there is no evidence for the grant of pensions (to which a grant of *ἀτέλεια* is comparable) except to athletic victors. This testimony to State or municipal support of the arts in such a black period of the Empire's history as the second half of the third century is impressive; it may also suggest that Upper Egypt was relatively prosperous in this period. It is not clear what was the precise nature of the *μουσικὸς ἀγών*; it seems to have been celebrated annually in September (see notes to ll. 37 and 50) and the age of the successful competitors ranges from fifteen to twenty-four. Other references to artistic festivals at Oxyrhynchus in this period may be found in P. Oslo. iii 189 (in which mention is made of an *ἀγὼν ποιητῶν* on Pachon 19—May 14) and in SB 7336, an account in which figure payments to dramatic composers, heralds, and trumpeters.[2]

The list covers the years 261/2 till 288/9, but is not arranged in strict chronological or alphabetical order. The name and patronymic are followed by the event in which the competitor was successful; occasionally his age, his mother's name, and father's trade or profession are added. Names are given sometimes in the nominative,

[1] Cf. the ephebic inscription from Memphis published by M. N. Tod in *JEA* xxxvii (1951), pp. 86 seq., in which the *ἀγών* is called *ἰσαντινόϊος*, where the reference is surely to Antinoopolis (so L. Robert in *Rev. Ét. Grec.* lxv (1952), p. 191, against Tod who sees a reference to the Athenian Antinoeia).

[2] In A.D. 273 the Agon Capitolinus was celebrated at Oxyrhynchus: see P. Oslo. iii 86.

sometimes in the accusative, with the confusion common in official accounts of the period.

The left-hand side of the sheet has been left blank and the text ends half-way down column iii; consequently the list may be presumed to be complete. In the top corner of the left-hand side a different and much smaller hand has made the following entry which may refer either to **2338** or to **2346** (a line may be missing at the top): [1] *Ḁρ̣ψ̣κ[ίο(υ)] συστάτο[υ]* [2] *δρό(μου) Θαή(σιος) Βησᾶς παρὰ τοῦ Σαραπ(ίωνος)* [3] *μη(τρὸς) Εὐδαιμονίδος* [4] *ἔχει ἀδελ(φὸν) Διογ(ένην) πύκτην* [5] *ἀπὸ τοῦ νομοῦ ε( )* [6] *δι(ὰ) Διονυσίου υἱοῦ Ἀγάθ(ωνος) κή[ρ]ψκο(ς)* [7] *Θεόδοτος ὁ καὶ Δίδυμος* [8] *Ηλη( ) [ποὶ κλη( )] Ζωσίμη δουλ(ῇ) τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ)* [9] *Ἀμμωνίου δ(ιὰ) Τει( ) (ἐτῶν) ιε.*

Col. i

γραφὴν ἀτ̣ε̣λ(είας) ἀ̣γ(ώνων) ἀστ̣ι̣[κ(ῶν)]
(Ἔτους) θ̣ Γαλλιηνοῦ Ἡρακλείδης Διονυσίου κηρ̣υ̣κίαν
[(ἔτους)] ι Γαλλιηνοῦ Ὡρείων Ἰσιδώρου Τ...σ̣ου
ὡς ἐτῶν κα κηρυκίαν
5 *τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους Ἡ̣ρακλέων Θ̣ε̣ώ̣ψ̣ο̣ς (ἐτῶν) κ πυ̣ητ̣ής*
ια Γαλλιηνοῦ Διόσκορον Ν̣α[.]..ω̣ψ̣..σ̣ου Ἀπολλωνίου
σαλπικτ̣ής
ὁμοί(ως) Ἄπιν Ναχθ̣ε̣νβ̣ίος πυ̣ητ̣ής
ιβ Γαλλιηνοῦ Ἡ̣ρακλῆ̣ς Κ̣ο̣ρ̣ν̣η̣λίου καὶ Σε̣ρ̣ῆ̣νος
10 *Ἑ̣ρμοφίλου σαλπικταὶ οἱ β*
Μ̣ε̣λανᾶ Διογᾶτος καὶ Μάρωνα Ἰσχυρίωνος πυ̣η̣ταὶ β
Ἡ̣ρακλείδ̣η̣ν Τ̣ε̣ισ̣α̣μ̣ε̣ν̣οῦ Θέ̣ω̣νος καὶ Ἀχιλλέα
τὸν καὶ Δίδυμον Ἀχιλλέ̣ω̣ς κ̣η̣ρ̣υ̣κ̣ί̣αν β
ιε Γαλλιηνοῦ Γέ̣μ̣ε̣λ̣λ̣ο̣ς Θέ̣ω̣νος πυ̣η̣τ̣ής
15 *ὁμοί(ως) Μέ̣λ̣α̣ς Πε̣κ̣ύ̣σ̣ι̣ος κ̣η̣ρ̣υ̣κ̣ί̣αν*
ὁμοί(ως) Ἱέραξ ὁ κ̣α̣ὶ̣ Ἀ̣μ̣μ̣ώ̣ψ̣ι̣ο̣ς πυ̣η̣τ̣ής
ιδ Γαλλιηνοῦ Ὡ̣ρ̣ε̣ίωνα τὸν καὶ Διονυσάμμωνα Διδύμου
πυ̣η̣τ̣ής
ιγ Γαλλιηνοῦ Σε̣ρ̣ῆ̣νον Τ̣ι̣β̣ε̣ρ̣ίου Κ̣λ̣αυδίου Θέ̣ω̣νος σ̣α̣λ̣π̣ι̣κ̣τ̣ῆ̣ς
Ἑ̣ρμόφιλος
20 *ἐ̣τ̣ε̣λ̣ε̣ύ̣τ̣(η̣σ̣ε̣ν)* *ιδ Γαλλιηνοῦ [[Φ̣ι̣..ον]] Ἑ̣ρμοφίλου τοῦ Σαραπίωνος σ̣α̣λ̣π̣ι̣κ̣τ̣ής*
ἐ̣τ̣ε̣λ̣ε̣ύ̣τ̣(η̣σ̣ε̣ν) *ιγ Γαλλιηνοῦ Θῶ̣νι̣ς καὶ Κ̣ο̣ρ̣ε̣ρ̣ε̣ὺ̣ς Ἀβασκάντου κ̣η̣ρ̣υ̣κ̣ί̣αν*
].[.]ψ̣κ̣ι̣ο̣ς *ι̣ε̣ Γαλλιηνοῦ Διοσκουρίδ̣η̣ν ‘καὶ’ Ἀ̣μ̣μ̣ώ̣ν̣ι̣ο̣ν π̣υ̣η̣τ̣ής*
...[..]ε̣π̣ρ̣ανῳ *ιδ Γαλλιηνοῦ Διονύσιος καὶ Νῖλος Κ̣ο̣ρ̣ν̣η̣λ̣ίου κ̣ῆ̣ρ̣υ̣ξ̣*
ὁμοί(ως) Μῶ̣ρ̣ο̣ν Ἡ̣ρᾶ̣τ̣ος πυ̣η̣τ̣ής

ιε″ Γαλλιηνοῦ Θέωνα Πτολαιμαίου κῆρυξ
ς″ Αὐρηλιανοῦ Θέων ὁ καὶ Τρύφων Θέωνος τοῦ Διδύμου μητ(ρὸς)
Δημητρείας ὡς (ἐτῶν) κδ′ σαλπικτής
(ἔτους) α″ Κλαυδίου Θέων Διογένους τοῦ καὶ Σκυβάλλου μητρὸς
Θαήσιος (ἐτῶν) ιη σαλπικτής
(ἔτους) γ″ Πρόβου Χιουρεσικ̀λ′α Σκύβαλος σαλπικτής
(ἔτους) α″ Κλαυδίου Διδυμᾶς Ἱέρακος τοῦ καὶ Ἀχιλλέως μητ(ρὸς)
Μαξίμας (ἔτῶν) ις κῆρυξ
ἐτελεύτ(ησεν) (ἔτους) γ″ Πρόβου Θῶνις υἱὸς Διονυσοθέωνος Διδύμου κῆρυξ
[[υἱὸν Διονψφ(ίου)]] (ἔτους) α″ Κλαυδίου Ἀμφεις Παυσανίου Σαραπίωνος μητ(ρὸς) Ἀπίας
(ἔτων) ις ποιητής
ἐτελεύτ(ησεν) (ἔτους) γ″ Πρόβου Δημήτριος Διονυσοθέωνος ποιητής
[[Ἀπίων Ψανῆ.]] δι(ὰ) τοῦ κάπηλος γαμβρὸς Πουπλείου
Πανεχώτης

Col. ii

ζ″ Αὐρηλιανοῦ Ῥηγινειανὸν τὸν καὶ Διονύσιον ποιητής
γ″ Πρόβου Νικείας Ποεῖτος σαλπικτής
ὁμοί(ως) [Ζ]ώιλον Ζωίλου τοῦ Θαυσίου μητ(ρὸς) Ταναήσιος
(ἐτῶν) ιε κῆρυξ
υἱοὶ Ἐλείωνος ἰδι<ωτ>εύσαν[τε]ς β″ ὁμοί(ως) Πρόβου Σιλβανὸς ἀδελφὸς γονέων τῶ(ν) αὐτῶ(ν) (ἐτῶν) ιθ γράμ-
ματα μανθάνοντες ποιητής
ἐτελεύ<τη>σεν β″ Πρόβου Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ καὶ Θέων υἱὸς Θέωνος τοῦ καὶ Ζωίλου
σαλπικ(τής)
ὁμοί(ως) Φιλέαν Διογένους διὰ Σαραπίωνος γρα(μματέως) μητρο-
(πόλεως) σαλπικ(τής)
ὁμοί(ως) Πασίων Ζωίλου ποιητής
(ἔτους) ε″ Πρόβου Ὡρείων Διονυσίου π[οι]ητής
υἱὸν Σ.ʽκ′.ρχ̣ (ἔτους) α″ Διοκλητιανοῦ Τειβερεῖν[ο]ς ὁ καὶ Πολυδεύκους οἰκοδόμ(ου)
Ἐπιμάχ(ου) ἀπὸ Τακόνα ..ρων ποιητής
(ἔτους) β″ Διοκλητιανοῦ Σαραπίων Ξερήνου Ἡρᾶτος [[..]] κῆρυξ
Ἀλέξανδρος ἀδελφός
(ἔτους) γ″ Καρείνου καὶ Νουμεριανοῦ
Πασίων Ἀμόιτος Διογένους κῆρυξ

Πᾳμᾶνος Παύλ(ου) Ζο[...] υἱὸν′ ὁμοί(ως) Ποτάμωνα τὸν καὶ Σαραπίωνα Διονυσίου τοῦ καὶ Αὐρη[λίο]υ
δι(ὰ) Μέλα(νος) σ[αλ]πικτής
(ἔτους) ε″ Πρόβου Θῶνις ὁ καὶ Σαραπίων Διδύμου κῆ[ρυ]ξ
β″ Καρείνου καὶ Νουμεριανοῦ
ἐτελ(εύτησεν) Διάδελφος Πνεφέρωτος ποιητής
ὁμοί(ως) Χιχόιν Δημητρείου σαλπικ[τ]ής
(ἔτους) ζ″ Πρόβου Εὐδαίμων Βησαρείωνος τοῦ καὶ Ὡρείωνος τοῦ καὶ
Σαραπίωνος ποιητ(ής)
ὁμοί(ως) Ἀπολλώνιος Πέτρου κῆρυξ
β″ [[Κάρου]] Διοκλητιανοῦ
ζ(ήτησον) τῳ[..]... ὁμοί(ως) Ὡρείων Σερήνου υἱὸς [Σ]ερήνου ὁ κ(αὶ) Ἡρακλῆς
[[ε.φ]] Παμμεω( ) ποιητής
ζ″ Πρόβου Κορνήλιος Σιλβανοῦ σαλπικτής
ὁμοί(ως) Σαραπίων Σαραπίωνος Εὐταλάρου υἱὸν τοῦ φαλαγροῦ
ποιητῶ(ν)
γ″ Διοκλητιανοῦ Ἡρακλῆς Ἰσιδώρου Τραιαν(οῦ) τῶ(ν) καταλ(ογιστῶν)
ποιητής
δ″ Πρόβου Βησαρείων Ἑρμείου τοῦ Ἑρμείου κῆρυξ
γ″ Διοκλητιανοῦ Ἀθηνόδωρος Θώνιος τοῦ καὶ Χαιρήμονος σαλπικ(τής)
β″ Καρείνου καὶ Νουμεριανοῦ Σερῆνος Σατορνίλου τοῦ κ(αὶ)
Δημητρειανοῦ Βησαρείωνος κῆρυξ
γ″ Διοκλητιανοῦ Διογένης Ὡρείωνος τοῦ Ὡρείωνος κῆρ[υ]ξ
ζ″ Πρόβου Πεκωῦς Ὡρείωνος τοῦ Διογένους σαλπικτή(ς)

Col. iii

δ″ Διοκλητιανοῦ [.]..ικιο[ς]..[...] κ̣ῆρ̣ῡ[ξ] .η Φανα.[. δ] κ(αὶ)
ὁμοί(ως) Θῶνιν Ἡρακλῆος Χρ.[...]λ̣ιου .[τ̣[..]σηφε.[..]φ.[ ]
ὁμοί(ως) Ἠλίαν Ἑρμίνου π̣[οιητής]
ἐτελεύτ(ησεν) (ἔτους) α″ Καρείνου Διάνγελλος Πλ[.....]υ π[οιητής]
ὁμοί(ως) Βησάμμων Σαραπάμμῳ[νος] τοῦ κ(αὶ) Σερήνου γρα(μμα̣τέως)
Ἄρων ῥή(τωρ) κ[ῆρυξ
ὁμοί(ως) Δίδυμος υἱὸν Διδύμου τ[οῦ κ(αὶ)] Ἰσιδώρου
ὁμοί(ως) Σιλβανὸς Θώνιος τοῦ Ἰ..[..] τοῦ κ(αὶ) Θέωνος
ὁμοί(ως) Ἀμμώνιον Σαραπίωνος σ[αλπικτής]
ε″ Διοκλητιανοῦ Σαρμάτης [.].. Σιλβανὸς ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλοθέων ..ʽσις′

85 ὁμοί(ως) Λούκιον Ἡρ̣ακ̣λᾶτος Λούκ[ι]ο(ν) υἱὸ(ν) Ἡρακλᾶς
ὁμοί(ως) Πατερμοῦθι̣[ς] Μαξίμου κ[ῆρυξ]
γ" Διοκλητιανοῦ Δ̣ι̣ο̣γ̣ένη̣ς ὁ κ(αὶ) Φαναφῆ[ς] Ἑρμείου τοῦ κ(αὶ) Ἀνδρομά[χ(ου)
ὁμοί(ως) Φιβῖνις Πτολαιμαίου υἱ[ὸ]ς Ὀφελλί(ου) τ̣ο̣ῦ̣ κ̣(αὶ) Φιλικ[ο]ῦ̣ δι(ὰ) Διοσκόρ(ου)
ὁμοί(ως) Ἡλιόδωρον [[.]] Δ̣ι̣ο̣ν̣υ̣σί(ου) υἱὸν ̀τ̣ο̣ῦ̣' Πο̣π̣....λα δι(ὰ) Γεσσίου
90 Διόσκορος κ(αὶ) Θεόφιλος υ̣ἱ̣ο̣ὶ̣ Ὡρ[είωνο]ς Διο̣σ̣κ̣ό̣ρου ἀγορανό(μου) [ἀ]πὸ Τόκα
Ὡρ[ι]γένης Πολυδ̣ε̣ύ̣κ̣ο̣υ̣ς ..[..]α̣ι̣ μ̣η̣τ(ρὸς) Τακώσιος υἱὸς Πολυδεύ-κ[ους]

3 ἴσιδ. P and in 69 5 l. ποιήτης and in 8, 11, etc. 11 ἴσχ. P 31 ἴερ. P 33 and *passim* υἵος P 37 l. καπήλου, γαμβροῦ 41 [ζ]ωῖλ. ζωῖλ. P and in 45, 47 43 ἴδ. P 67 l. φαλακροῦ

39 Aurelian died in the spring of 275, but his widow carried on in his name until the election of Tacitus in the following September. Thus, in Egypt, the seventh year of his reign would have begun in August 275, and this is the latest known document to be dated by his reign (see A. Alföldi in *CAH* xii 310). The event to which this entry refers must have taken place in the September or early October before the news of Tacitus' election reached Egypt.

43 ἰδι⟨ωτ⟩εύσαντες: this might conceivably mean that the men in question were not members of the gymnasium or that the other victors in the list were in some way representatives of the city.

52 Diocletian succeeded Numerianus in the East in November 284; the third year of the latter's joint reign with his brother Carinus would have begun in Egypt in August 284, from which we may infer that they succeeded their father Carus, the date of whose death is unknown, some time before August 283 (see A. Alföldi, op. cit., pp. 322–3). Only one other papyrus is dated by their joint reign and in this the year date is not preserved (P. Fouad Univ. 23).

2339. Report of Proceedings (?)

41·5 × 11 cm. First century A.D.

The form of this text is no less peculiar than its content. What survives is the lower part of a small roll consisting of four sheets of papyrus; on the recto are two columns so written that the end of a line in the first column sometimes runs into the beginning of a line in the second. On the verso there is only one column with wide spacing to left and right. The arrangement suggests that there were only three columns and that recto preceded verso; but the verso text breaks off in the middle of a sentence.

The hand is an irregular and careless documentary script with no pretensions to style of any kind; the letters vary in size and are unevenly spaced; there are

occasional blank spaces between or at the ends of lines, and some lines project into the left margin. The hand cannot be much later than the middle of the first century (cf. Schubart, *Pal.* abb. 28 and 30). The papyrus is badly stained and the ink in places has faded.

The subject is clearly a trial before some Roman authority; there are probably four defendants, one of them a woman. They are no ordinary proceedings, as the references to war and crucifixion show; nor does the form of the report suggest the familiar précis of legal proceedings. These considerations, together with certain stylistic features (cf. the frequent asyndeton and a vocabulary which is not that of the ordinary papyri) as well as the Alexandrian background to the proceedings (see notes), might suggest that in **2339** we have a private copy of part of the *Acta Alexandrinorum*; against this should be set the documentary appearance of the text, which has all the appearance of a copy of contemporary proceedings, and (for what it is worth in so small a fragment) the absence of any allusion to an emperor. In the absence of further evidence the question is best left open. But whatever the character of the document, the disturbances which were the background to the proceedings may have been the riots[1] between Jews and Greeks in Alexandria (cf. ἄκρα and note on ll. 26–27) immediately preceding and during the Jewish revolt in Palestine; cf. Josephus, *BJ* ii 18. 7 συμβολαὶ δ' ἦσαν αὐτῶν ἀδιάλειπτοι πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων πολλοὺς ὁσημέραι παρ' ἀμφοῖν κολαζόντων ἡ στάσις μᾶλλον παρωξύνετο.

Recto

Col. i

. . . . . .

[.....].[.].[c. 20 ll.]ρ[.]
[.....]ρ̣σ̣τ̣[..].[c. 18 ll.]τ̣.
[.....]βρ.ω̣.[c. 20 ll.].ε̣
[..].επ[.]π̣[..].ε̣τ̣..[.....] τούτων μα̣[..]ε̣γαι
5 [..]..σ̣τ̣α̣[.]ε̣κ̣.[...]ε̣ι̣δ̣ρ̣[...].αι

[Ἀ]πολλόδ̣ο̣τ̣ο̣ν̣ .[...]ε̣ριτου μέ[λ]λοντες κεφαλίσαι
πρὸς τῶι Ποτ̣ε̣ιρ[ίω] ἵνα εἰδῇς ὅτι ἐὰν δ̣α̣ρῇς οὐ μέλ-
λει ὁ νόμος ἐ̣ρημοῦσθαι οὐδὲ φοβούμεθα πόλε-
μον ἀ̣τ̣υ̣χῆ̣σ̣α̣ι̣ [ε]ὐθέως ἐπι̣πληχθήσηι
10 καὶ ἐκέλευσ̣ε̣ν̣ α̣ὐ̣τ̣ὸν φλαγέλλας μαστιγω-
θῆναι ἔμελλον μαστιγοῦσθα⟨ι⟩ ὁ Πετείριος

[1] The word πόλεμος (l. 8) is used elsewhere of the Jewish troubles in Egypt (cf. Preisigke, *WB*, s.v.).

Col. ii

. . . . . .

[....]χρνε[c. 15 ll.]τε̣τ̣[.....]ιτ.[.]απε̣

[...].θε̣..φρρ.[c. 13 ll.]ε̣.[.....]ε̣υβουν δὲ

ε̣[..].ινος ε̣γρ.[..]..[.....].τρ̣ καὶ τῆς ἀπονοίας ἀλλὰ

15 .[...]ωπ̣ως ἡγε̣[μ]ο̣ν[..]..σο.[.].α̣..ρ̣ ἀπ̣ρ̣θέσθαι καὶ διὰ τὶ

ε̣ν̣τ[.].δε̣ν̣α̣σ̣.ε̣.[.].δ̣ωκαν ε̣.ρ̣ δὲ ἔμεινας ἐν τούτοις τοῖς μησὶν

ο̣ρ̣μους ἠργασζόμην κ̣ο̣ὐκ εἴδην ρ̣ο̣ῦ τὸ ἔκθεμα ἀναφορὰν ἔ-

μελλον διδόγ̣α̣ι κατὰ τῶν ἀπαιδεύτων ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἔσ̣μεν

χιλίαρχοι επεθο.νη.σιν

Verso

. . . . . .

20 β̣η̣[

[c. 12 ll.]..τ̣ι̣[.].[...].με̣[c. 20 ll.

[c. 9 ll.]ν̣ε̣ρ̣[.].υτ.[...]λ̣..π̣ε̣[c. 18 ll.

[.].[ ] [ ] [ ]..[

ι̣ς̣ προστρ̣..η̣.[.....]ο̣π̣α̣ρ̣.α̣[.]ολυ..εκ..[.....].ι̣δ̣.γ̣.τι ἐ-

25 ὰν κείνη̣.η̣.. ἑ̣λληνικαὶ καὶ σταυρ̣ο̣π̣οίαν [π]ε̣ίσεται καὶ

πρὸς κ̣α̣χ̣εξ̣ί̣α̣ν̣ ε̣[.].ο̣π̣... ἄλλους γερδίους ἔφη̣ι τοὺς μὲν

ἄρξαντες τ̣ὴ̣ν ἀρχὴν [κα]τεί̣χομεν ἐν τῆι ἄκρ̣α̣ τοῦτο

γὰρ ἡμεῖν ἐδ̣ό̣κ̣ε̣ι τὸν Πε̣τοῖριν καὶ Ἐπόκην οἱ ἀδε

ll. 6 seq. 'Because we intend to behead Apollodotus son of . . . in addition to Poteirius? That you may know that if you are flogged the law is not going to be abandoned and that we do not fear failure in war, you shall be beaten forthwith.' And he ordered him to be scourged with whips. Peteirios and . . . were on the point of being scourged.'

ll. 16 seq. '(while) you stayed, in these months I was working on . . . and I was not aware of your edict. I was about to present a petition against the boors. We are not military tribunes . . . .'

ll. 26 seq. 'will suffer crucifixion and he said would (bring) the other weavers into a state of disaffection. Those who had held the magistracy we detained in the citadel; for so we decided. Peteirios and Epoke . . . .'

4 Perhaps a part of ἐπιπλήσσειν should be recognized here. At the end of the line]ρ̣ται could be read.

6 The space above this line as well as the projection of the first word into the margin indicates that a new section begins here. There is no place for a main verb in the first sentence, nor for the name of a speaker; Ἀπολλόδρ̣τ̣ος might be read, but then there would be no object for κεφαλίσαι. I can see no alternative to the rendering given above, unsatisfactory as it is.

κεφαλίσαι: this word is quoted in LSJ from BGU 341, 9 (a fragment of the *Acta Alexandrinorum*), but as the first two letters are missing and the extent of the preceding gap is uncertain, ἀποκεφαλίζειν is at least as probable. This is the first clear case of its use. On beheading as a punishment in Egypt see F. Cumont, *L'Égypte des Astrologues*, p. 195.

Ἀπολλόδοτον: all instances of this name given in Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, are Ptolemaic with one

exception (*Stud.* v. 39. 5: here, however, the reading is doubtful). It appears to be one of the names confined to those of Greek descent; it is borne by an Alexandrian in *Archiv* v, p. 159, no. 7, and also in P. Ryl. iv 584.

7 seq. The meaning of the judge's remark is obscure. One interpretation would be that the defendant is claiming to be a prisoner of war (or possibly claiming exemption from the court jurisdiction as a Roman citizen) and threatens that if he is not treated as such the reactions of his compatriots would be such that the Roman authorities would have a war on their hands. A less plausible interpretation in view of the subsequent reference to πόλεμος would be to refer δαρῆς and ἐπιπληχθήσῃ to the Alexandrian 'privilege' of being beaten by special officers with special instruments (see Cumont, op. cit., p. 195, n. 2).

Poteirios is clearly to be identified with Peteirios of l. 11 and Petoiris of l. 28.

9 ἐπιπληχθήσηι: an aorist ἐπλήχθην is found as well as the commoner ἐπλάγην, but no example of a future passive in this form either in the simple or the compound verb is cited by LSJ.

10 φλαγέλλας: Meinersmann (*Die lateinische Wörter u. Namen in d. griechischen Papyri*, p. 116) cites no example of a Latin neuter plural being treated as a feminine singular in Greek; there are, however, a number of examples in vulgar Latin, some as early as Petronius, for which see Löfstedt, *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*, pp. 133 seq. φλαγέλλιον is found in P. Lond. ii 191, 11 (an inventory of the property of a Roman) and in the form φραγέλλιον in the N.T. (John ii 15). On the question of Latin words in Greek see most recently R. Cavenaile in *Aegyptus* xxxii (1953), pp. 191 seq.

αὐτόν must refer to someone distinct from both Apollodotus and Peteirius, unless we are ready to admit that the latter is to be taught a lesson by being executed.

16 ἕως cannot be read before δέ.

17 The purpose of the line drawn above the first word in this line is obscure, as there is no indication of a new section beginning in l. 16 and, even if it does, this would be no reason for the projection of l. 17 into the left margin. The word itself is puzzling; the only alternative reading to ορ would be a large φ. ὅρμους may = ὅλμους as in BGU 251, 17 and the reference might be to forced labour in the quarries or some analogous punishment (for *damnatio in metallum* see Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt* i, p. 426; his reference, however, to BGU 1024, 5, 9 seq. is not borne out by the text).

For εἴδην = ᾔδειν see Mayser, *Grammatik* i 2, p. 80. The asyndeton after ἔκθεμα is typical of the style of the piece, cf. ll. 11 and 18.

18 The allusion to 'the uncultured' is probably to be explained by the following remark, but the point of it is lost. It would be quite in character for the Alexandrians to despise the Romans for their inferior culture.

19 I can offer no suggestion for the word or words following χιλίαρχοι; there may be an additional letter between the θ and the ο, and before the σ.

24 The first two letters are either a numeral or ἰς = εἰς.

25 σταυροποία: *addendum lexicis*.

26–27 Either a line has fallen out here or ἄρξαντες must be corrected to ἄρξαντας.

τὴν ἀρχήν: either internal accusative to the participle or adverbial, 'initially'.

For the various references to the ἄκρα or ἀκρόπολις of Alexandria (there were probably two, one near the royal palace, the other the hill of the Sarapeum in the Rhakotis quarter) see A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici*, p. 90; outside Alexandria I know of no reference to an ἄκρα in Egypt.

28 Ἐπόκη is known as a woman's name on an Alexandrian tombstone from SB 6066: cf. κείνη in l. 25. οἱ: or οἷ.

2340. Judicial Proceedings

39×17·7 cm. A.D. 192.

Part of a τόμος συγκολλήσιμος; the present text is written across the fibres on papyrus from which previous writing has been removed with a sponge (a survival from this earlier text is probably l. 25 written at angles to the rest of the writing). To the left is a small fragment of another document; the ends of eight lines remain, of

which the last two are written in a different hand. This too was a record of judicial proceedings, perhaps held before the same magistrate (l. 4 reads]ι̣ανος εἶπ[εν]), the point at issue again being exemption from liturgies (l. 1 ἀπαλ[λαγήν(?), l. 6 αἰτίαν ἀφε|[θ-), and the occasion being the *conventus* (l. 7 δ]ι̣αλογισμοῦ).

The main text is of some interest since the liturgy from which exemption was claimed was the post of 'assistant strategus of the fourth region'. Only in Alexandria and Antinoopolis were the city regions numbered by the letters of the alphabet, and only in Alexandria was there a στρατηγὸς τῆς πόλεως; we may therefore be certain that the parties in the case were Alexandrians and that the case was heard there. The industrial background suggested by ll. 6 seq. also suits Alexandria.

A second hand is responsible for Lλβ at the head of column i. On the other side of the papyrus is written **2341**.

Col. i

Ἔτους λ̅β̅ Λουκίου Αἰλίου Αὐρηλίου
Κομμόδου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Φαμενὼθ ι̅ζ̅.
Ἐντυχόντος Ἰσιδώρου Εὐδαίμων ῥή-
τωρ εἶπεν· Ἐπίμαχος Γαίου ὑποστρατη-
γὸς δέλτα γράμματος ἀνέδωκεν τὸν
ἡμέτερον ἀνθ' αὑτοῦ ἐργαστηριάρχην
ὄντα λινούφων πολλοὺς ἐργαζομέ-
νους ἐν τῇ ἐργασίᾳ ἔχοντα· οἱ δὲ
τοιοῦτοι ἀφείθησαν διὰ τὸ χρησί-
μ[ου]ς εἶναι τῷ ταμε[ί]ῳ καὶ παρακαλῶ
[δια]κελεῦσαί σε τῷ [Ἐπιμ]άχῳ ἕτερον
[ἀνθ' αὑτο]ῦ ἀναδ[οῦναι κ]α̣ὶ ἀναγν[ω-]
[σθ.....]α̣ψικ̣ρ̣[.....]υ κο[...]

. . . . . .

Col. ii

[κεχρο]-
νισμένον εἰς τὸ κβ Φαρμοῦ-
θι. Ἱππίας ῥήτωρ εἶπεν· ὁ Ἐπί-
μαχός φησιν μὴ εἶναι αὐτὸν
λινούφον ἀλλὰ μυροπώλην
εὐσχήμονα ἄνθρωπον. Ἰου-
λιανὸς εἶπεν· κατὰ τὰ ἐφ' ὁμο[ί]-

ων κριθέντα εἰ ἐστὶν ἐργα-
στηριάρχης λινούφ[[ων]]ος τῷ αὐ-
τῷ παραδείγ[μ]α̣τι χρήσασθαι
δύναται κα[ὶ αὐτὸς ἀ]ντ' αὐτο[ῦ]
ἕτερον ἀν[αδοῦναι].

2nd h., along the fibres.

περὶ τάξεως ἐμβολ(ῆς)

7 l. λινόϋφον 23 l. ἀνθ'

'Year 32 of Lucius Aelius Aurelius Commodus Caesar the Lord, Phamenoth 17 (March 13). On the petition of Isidorus Eudaemon, his advocate, said: "Epimachus son of Gaius, assistant strategus of the fourth district, has nominated my client in place of himself. My client is a foreman weaver who has many workmen in his factory, and men in his position have in the past been exempted because they are useful to the Treasury and I now urge you to order Epimachus to nominate someone else in place of himself." When . . . was read . . . adjourned until Pharmouthi 22 (April 17). Hippias the advocate said: "Epimachus asserts that Isidorus is not a weaver but a perfumer and a well-to-do man.' Julianus said: "According to decisions given in similar cases if he is a foreman weaver he can use the same precedent and in turn nominate someone else instead of himself." '

4 ὑποστρατηγός: hitherto only known as the title of the deputy of the nome strategus in the Ptolemaic and early imperial periods, cf. H. Henne, *Stratèges* 4, BGU viii, p. 5 and 1778, 6 note: the latest instance is 13 B.C. Just as the latter may act as deputy of a nome strategus in part of a nome, e.g. a toparchy, so here the same title is used of a regional deputy of the city strategus of Alexandria.

5 δέλτα γράμματος: famous in earlier times as the Jewish quarter, cf. A. Calderini, *Dizionario*, pp. 79 seq.

8 seq. On the exemption of weavers from corvée and liturgy see the important papyrus P. Phil. 1 with the editor's introduction and notes, in particular pp. 21 seq.

18 Julianus may possibly have been prefect between Larcius Memor and L. Mantennius Sabinus (for the chronology see A. Stein, *Die Präfekten von Ägypten*, p. 104), but was more probably hypomnematographus or archidikastes. He may be identical with the Salvius Julianus who was idiologus in A.D. 185.

24 ἀναδοῦναι: for the precise meaning of this word (*to make a nomination requiring ratification*) see P. Ryl. ii 91, 3 note.

2341. Judicial Proceedings

39 × 17·7 cm. A.D. 208.

Written along the fibres in a clear, bold hand resembling contemporary literary hands of the 'slanting' type. At the right edge is a kollema, across which the writing extends; this second piece of papyrus has been glued on back to front, i.e. the writing at this edge is across the fibres. On the verso of our text is **2340** preceded by the ends of lines of another document on the verso of which is the extreme edge of **2341**. A τόμος συγκολλήσιμος had therefore been put together with the verso of one document attached to the recto of another, before the blank side was used to receive the copy of these proceedings.

The proceedings take place in April 208 before the prefect Subatianus Aquila, who

was no doubt on a tour of inspection subsequent to the *conventus*; the defendant is the strategus of the nome who is accused by the prytanis of Oxyrhynchus, appearing probably on behalf of both the city and the villages of the nome, of being responsible for the late delivery of taxes in kind through failure to observe the traditional system of clearing the granaries. The essence of the system seems to have been that at the time of the inundation the granaries of those villages situated on the *Τῶμις* canal (the Bahr Youssef) were first cleared; then an arrangement known as *τὸ κατὰ πάσσαλον* was put into operation, the villages being cleared in order from south to north and the grain transported to the ports from a given area only when the granaries to the south of it had been cleared. The object was to prevent the grain piling up in the north of the nome with consequent congestion of transport and delay in delivery, and also (we may surmise) to ensure that the burden of transport was divided in the most efficient manner between the Nile barges on the one hand and the donkey teams on the other. But it is precisely at this point that the details are obscure; in particular we have no means of determining which means of transport is involved in the *τὸ κατὰ πάσσαλον* system. The prefect both approves this system and exculpates the strategus; his grounds for doing so are lost in the lacuna at the end of column i.[1]

Col. i

(Ἔτους) ις Φαρμοῦθι ις̄
Ἐξ ὑπομνηματισμῶν Σουβατιανοῦ Ἀκύλα
ἐν Ὀξυρυγχείτῃ· μετ' ἄλλα·
Αἴλιος Ἀμμώνιος πρύτανις εἶπεν· ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ ἡμέ-
5 τερος οὗτος ὁ παρακείμενος τῇ ἀναβάσει ἐπίρ(ρ)οιαν
ἴσχει καὶ δαψίλειαν ὕδατος· ἀξιοῦμεν τότε τὰ πλοῖα
πέμπεσθαι καὶ τὰς παραποταμίους κώμας πρῶτον
βαστάζεσθαι [[διὰ τοῦδε]] (μετὰ τούτου) τοῦ ποταμοῦ, μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ κα-
τὰ πάσσαλον τὸ σύνηθες εἶναι καὶ τὸ νενομ[[οθετημέ-]]ισμένον,
10 [[νον]] ἀρχῆθεν ἄρχεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἄνω καὶ ἐκκενοῦσ-
θαι ἕκαστον θησαυρὸν καὶ ἐλαύνεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν συν-
ήθειαν. Ἀκύλας εἶπεν· τὸ κατὰ πάσσαλον τί ἐστιν;
ἀπεκρίνατο· ἄρχετε ἀπὸ το[ῦ] νόμου ἑκάστη χώρα.
Ἀκύλας εἶπεν· ἀπὸ τῆς ἄνω τοπαρχίας; ἀπεκρίνα-
15 [το· ν]αί· τοῦτο γὰρ ἀεὶ νενόμ[[οθέτηται]] (ωται) καὶ τετήρη-

[1] I have had the advantage of discussing this text with Professor H. C. Youtie; to his customary acumen and knowledge I am indebted for illuminating many of its obscurities.

[τ]ᾳι ⟨ἵ⟩να μὴ ἀπὸ κώμης εἰς κώμην [[μὴ]] (ας) ὑπερβαίνῃ
[...], ἀλλὰ συνεκκενῶ[ντ]αι τῇ ἀναβάσει, ἵνα [α]ἱ παρα-
[ποτάμιοι] τούτου το[ῦ Τώ]μιδος ποταμοῦ π[ρῶτο]ν βασ-
[τάζωντ]αι. Ἀκύλας [Διδύ]μῳ στρατηγῷ ε[ἶπεν]· διὰ
20 [τί τοῦτο οὐ]κ ἐγέν[ετο; ἀπεκ]ρίνατο· ποια[.....]μη
[.....] ε̣ἶπεν· β̣ε̣[.....] εἰπάτω σ[.....]
[....Ἀμμων]ίῳ εἶπ[εν.....].τε αὐτὸν [.....]
[.....]εις.[.....Ἀκύ]λα[ς εἶπεν ....]
. . . . . .

Col. ii

καὶ Διδύμῳ στρατηγῷ εἶπεν· ἡ νῦν
25 λοιπ[[ογραφία]] (ας) ποῦ ἐστιν ἡ μηδέπω πεμ-
φθεῖσα; ἐν ποίοις τόποις; Δίδυμ[[ω]] (ος) στρα-
τηγὸς εἶπεν· ἐν τῇ κάτω. Ἀκύλας Ἀμμω-
νίῳ εἶπεν· εἰ διηλλέχεταί (γ) τι (ε) ἁμαρτη[[με̣]]
θὲν καὶ ἐπέπληξα ἄν· σχεδὸν δὲ ζή-
30 τησις οὔκ ἐστιν ὅτι τοῦτο δεῖ παραφυ-
λάττεσθαι.

5 l. ἀναβάσει, also in 17 6 l. ἴσχει 13 l. ἄρχεται 17 ἵνα P 28 l. διηλέγχετέ

'Year 16, Pharmouthi 16 (April 11). Extract from the minutes of Subatianus Aquila, in the Oxyrhynchite nome. Inter alia: Aelius Ammonius, prytanis, said: "This canal of ours which is adjacent to the inundation has an influx and superabundance of water. We ask that at that time vessels should be sent and the canal villages cleared first by means of this canal and that subsequently the customary system according to peg be worked beginning in accordance with usual practice with the upper toparchy, and that each granary be emptied and the grain transported to the usual destination." Aquila said: "What is the peg system?" Ammonius replied: "Each area begins from the south." Aquila said: "From the upper toparchy?" Ammonius replied: "Yes; for this has always been the usual procedure and has been maintained, namely, that there should be no jumping from village to village but that they should be emptied in keeping with the rise of the water and the villages adjacent to the Tomis canal be cleared first. Aquila said to Didymus the strategus: "Why was not this done?" Didymus replied: . . . and he said to Didymus the strategus: "Where are the present arrears, those that have not yet been dispatched? In what districts?" Didymus the strategus said: "In the lower toparchy." Aquila said to Ammonius: "If you were exposing some misdemeanour, I should have reprimanded him. It is hardly a matter for question that this needs careful watching."'

4 The canal (distinguished as 'ours' in contrast with the Nile, *ὁ μέγας ποταμός*, cf. P.S.I. 1013) will be the Bahr Youssef on the western bank of which Oxyrhynchus stood (cf. O. M. Pearl in *Classical Weekly* xxxvii (1943–4) 10). The ancient name of the Bahr Youssef has not apparently occurred before; it may now (cf. l. 18 below) be identified with the *Τῶμις* of P. Lond. 131.

5 *τῇ ἀναβάσει*: this might be taken as a temporal dative, although such a use except to express one fixed point of time is extremely rare (cf. Blass–Debrunner, *NT. Grammatik*[7], § 200), were it not

that *παρακείμενος* without *ἀναβάσει* as object is pointless. In the next sentence, however, *τότε* must refer loosely to the period of inundation.

8 *βαστάζεσθαι* here has the force of a *terminus technicus*; I know of no close parallel to this usage, but we may compare John xx 15.

9 What precisely is meant by *τὸ κατὰ πάσσαλον* is as obscure to us as it was to the prefect, but since he was satisfied by the explanation given in ll. 13 seq. we may perhaps take it that the *πάσσαλος* itself was a measuring-stick and the system was one whereby the order in which the granaries of the nome were cleared was determined by the height of the flood-water shown on the *πάσσαλοι* in the different villages; it would be a reasonable development of the nilometer system (for the latter see L. Borchardt, *Abh. preuß. Akad.* 1906, *Nilmesser u. Nilstandsmarken*). The expression is not found in the papyri or elsewhere.

11 *ἐλαύνεσθαι* is another quasi-technical expression for which other documents provide no parallel; the understood subject is presumably *ὄνους*. Professor Youtie plausibly suggests that the unusual phrase *ἐπὶ τὴν συνήθειαν* may have resulted from the writer's hesitation between *κατὰ τὴν σ.* and, for example, *ἐπὶ τὸν συνήθη ὅρμον*; it is not impossible that *συνήθεια* may have been used with a local sense similar to that of *ἦθος*.

13 It is difficult to think that *χώρα* can refer to anything but the nome, although Preisigke quotes no instance of anything approaching such a use before the fourth century (P. Lips. 64, 52 *τῆς ὑμετέρας χώρας* of the Great Oasis), since it is not credible that any hitherto unknown territorial division existed for such administrative purposes. But if the procedure was simply that of starting with the southernmost villages in the upper toparchy and working northwards, it is not easy to see what was the need for *τὸ κατὰ πάσσαλον*.

16 seq. These three clauses *ὑπερβαίνῃ . . . συνεκκενῶνται . . . βαστάζωνται* are best taken, as Professor Youtie has suggested to me, as co-ordinate object-clauses in apposition with *τοῦτο* (cf. Abel, *Grammaire du grec biblique*, pp. 282 seq.). Alternatively, they could be regarded as final clauses with a slight anacoluthon in l. 17; or the first two might be treated as object-clauses and the third as final.

ὑπερβαίνῃ: the lacuna at the beginning of the next line is difficult to fill, and I suspect that *ὑπερβαίνηται* may have been written; there are no other instances of such a use, but cf. the passive use of *παραβαίνειν*. *τι* would not fill the space unless spelled *τει* and would have little meaning. I take the meaning of this clause to be that one object of the system was that the granaries should be cleared not haphazardly but in a regular order; it might be (Youtie) 'in such a way that the grain does not pass endlessly from village to village'.

19 A strategus of this name is recorded between 211 and 217 (**1259**, BGU 1091) and an Ammonius as *διάδοχος* of the strategus in 209 (**1560**); by then the Didymus of **2341**, whether or no identical with the holder of the office in 211–17, would have been out of office.

It is interesting that **1259**, addressed to a strategus called Didymus, is an acknowledgement issued by a shipper of receipt of corn for transport to Alexandria; the corn is stated to have been shipped from the village of Psobithis on the Tomis canal.

2342. Petition to the Prefect

13·7×37·2 cm. A.D. 102.

The petitioner, a wineseller of Oxyrhynchus, claims redress against his late partner's widow on the ground that, whereas his partner was in his debt, his widow has not only not repaid him but has sold the joint capital of the two partners and retained the money realized by the sale for herself. The case had been before the strategus but the petitioner had failed to get satisfaction; but in this draft the details of the case are obscure partly because some of it is in the form of notes (and the writer when making notes preferred participles to main verbs), partly because though there are

three versions in draft of the second part of the petition none appears to be complete. This copy was kept by the petitioner who added a note (l. 40) of the date on which he handed the fair copy to the prefect. Possibly (l. 34) this was the second petition on the subject.

The vocabulary is unusually interesting.

Verso blank.

Γαΐωι Μινικίωι Ἰτάλωι τῶι [κ]υρίωι ἡγεμόνι
παρὰ Ἀπίωνος τοῦ Ἀπίωνος τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων
πόλεως οἰνεμπόρου· τῶ[ι] β (ἔτει) Τραιανοῦ Καίσαρος
τοῦ κυρίου Πασίων Σαραπίωνος κοινωνὸς
5 *καὶ δανειστὴς ὧν τελευτήσας ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ*
ἀποκηρύξας τὰ τέκνα ἐπὶ καταγνώσει διά-
δοχον ἔσχε τὴν γυναῖκα Βερενείκην· ἥδε
ἔχουσα τὸ φορτίον τοῦ οἴνου ἐντὸς αὐτῆς
ὑπὸ κλ[εῖ]δα τῆς πράσεως τὴν τειμὴν ἐνε-
10 *βόλ[[ευ]]σε πᾶσαν ἐπιγνοῦσα τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς*
ἐπὶ ξένης τελευτὴν· ἐπιτρείβεται ὑπὸ τῶν
κακοτρόπων υἱῶν μὴ [ἀλ]ηθεύειν ὃ ἐχείρι-
σεν μηδ' εἰς σύμβασιν [αὐ]τοῦ ἐλθεῖν οὔτε
ἣν εἶχεν ἐνθήκης λόγ[ῳ] διευλυτοῦσα
15 *οὐδὲ τὰ γραπτὰ ἀναδ[ι]δοῦσα ἔχουσα τὸ*
πᾶν θέμα πλανῶσα [ἐμ]ὲ καθ' ἑκάστην
ἡμέραν. ἤλθαμεν εἰς Δῖον τὸν στρατηγὸν
εἰποῦσα εἰσὶ ἔνγραπτα [..]ρ[.]α τρισχειλίων
καὶ ἄλλ[α]ι ἐπ' οἴνωι πεντ[ακις]χειλίας· ἰδὼν
20 *αὐτὴν ψευδομένην [ἤτησε] τὴν τοῦ ἀποθα-*
νόντο[ς] ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς Π[ασίωνος] ἐφημερίδα
ἣν πολλάκις ἐπέφε[ρεν αὐτὸς ὄντ]ων παντὸς
λόγου γραπτῶν ἀριθμῷ ..ριων καὶ ἀγράφων
ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πεντακισχειλίας διακοσίας τεσ-
25 *σαράκον[τ]α ἐννέα τετρώβολον· διδαχθεῖσα*
μὴ ἐπι[φ]έρειν διὰ τὸν ἔλεγχον ἔκρυψε
μεθοδ[ε]ύσασα τὸν στρατηγὸν σπουδήν τινα
ὧν χάριν δδικούμε⟨νος⟩ ἐπί σε [κατ]αφεύγω
].....] παρέπεμψεν ἀξιῶ ἐὰν φαίνητ[α]ι

[.....]σοι ἐπιδειχθῇ ἡ[μ]ῖν κατοπτεύσασ⟨α⟩

30 [.....]η [[τὸ ψευδὲς ρῦτως]] (τὴν στέρεσιν) καὶ λόγους τάξ[ε]σθαι
[ὧν ἐχεί]ρισεν ἀπο᾽δι᾽δοῦσα ἣν ἔχει μου ἐνθήκη(ν)
[καὶ τὰ γ]ραπτὰ ἵν᾽ ὦ βεβοηθημένος ἐπὶ τοῦ
[.....] κατ᾽ εὐεργεσίαν ὑ[π]ό σου [[καὶ τῷ κυρίωι
[.....] ἕτερον ἐπίδωκα]] (ἔτους) ε Αὐτοκράτορος
35 [Καίσαρος Νέρρυα Τραιανοῦ Σεβ[α]στοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
[ὧν χάρι]ν ἀδικούμενος ἐπί σε τὸν πάντων
[ἀνθρώπ]ων εὐεργέτην κα[τ]αφεύγω καὶ ἀξιῶι
[ἐὰν φαί]ηται γράψαι τῷ τοῦ νομοῦ στρατηγῷ
[διαλαβε]ῖν ὡς ἐνδέχεται. διευτύχει.
40 [ἐδ]όθη τῷ ἡγεμόνι ἐν Κῶι Φαμε(νὼθ) κ̄.
[Γαίωι Μινικί]ωι Ἰτάλωι τῶι κ[ρα(τίστῳ)] ἡγεμόνι ἔδωκα ἔτει
[.....]χρι διὰ τὸν ἔλ[εγ]χον ἔκρυψε [1] πρὸς ἀνα-
[.....ῶ]ν χάριν ἀδικο[ύμε]νος ἐπί σε τὸν πάντων
[ἀνθρώπων εὐε]ρ[γ]έτην κα[τα]φεύγωι ἀξιῶ ἐὰν
45 [φαίνηται γράψαι] τῷ τοῦ νομ[οῦ] στρατηγῷ διαλαβεῖν
[ὡς ἐνδέχετα]ι. διευ[τ(ύχει)].

[1] To my Lord prefect Caius Minicius Italus from Apion son of Apion, wine-merchant, native of Oxyrhynchus. In the second year of the lord Trajanus Caesar Pasion son of Sarapion, who was my partner and debtor, died in Alexandria; he had disinherited his children as a token of his disapproval and left as his heir his wife Berenice. She kept the stock of wine in her own hands under lock and key and appropriated the entire price obtained by its sale, once she had learnt of her husband's death away from home. She is under pressure from her evil-living sons not to tell the truth about her proceedings nor to reach an understanding in the matter. She has not paid off the sums she held by way of capital nor has she surrendered the papers; she keeps the entire deposit and deceives me every day. We went before Dius the strategus; she said: "There are documents (valid for) three thousand drachmae and others, secured on wine, for five thousand." The strategus saw that she was lying and (asked for) the ledger of her deceased husband Pasion which he often used to produce (showing) a total of five thousand, two hundred and forty-nine drachmae, four obols in respect of all dealings whether written or unwritten. She was instructed not to produce the ledger because of the cross-examination and concealed it.... Wherefore being thus wronged I have recourse to you, the benefactor of all men, and request you, if it seems good to you, to write to the strategus of the nome and instruct him to determine the case as far as is possible. Farewell.

'Handed to the prefect in Kos, Phamenoth 20 (March 16).'

6 Neither ἀποκηρύσσω nor ἀποκήρυξις occurs elsewhere in the papyri before the fourth century. The context suggests that the disinheritance here was complete (cf. P. M. Meyer, *Juristische Papyri*, p. 57).

ἐπὶ καταγνώσει: an alternative rendering would be *in consequence of a conviction*, but this seems less probable in the absence of any mention of the crime. The sense *dereliction of duty* is not found before the fifth century.

[1] The translation omits the passages marked for deletion in the original.

8 ἐντός is here used much in the sense of Latin *penes*; for this usage and parallels to it (especially Luke xvii 21) see C. H. Roberts, 'The Kingdom of Heaven', in *Harvard Theological Review* xli (1948), pp. 1 seq.

9 ἐμβολεύω is attested only in the sense *load a ship*; here, though the literal meaning cannot be quite excluded, we should probably be right to assume a colloquial meaning *appropriate, make off with*.

12 κακότροπος: the only instance quoted in Preisigke, *WB*, is again from a document (P. Cair. Masp. 97 ii 70: 6th cent. A.D.) in which it is used of disinherited sons.

14 διευλυτεῖν, *to liquidate* is apparently here used of division of the joint capital.

17 In **1452**, 58 the editors read Δ]ίος(υσίου) as the name of a strategus holding office in the third year of Trajan; in the light of this we should probably emend to Δ]ίος.

18 The missing word in this line might be κύρια ('there are (εἰσὶ for ἔστι) documents valid for 3,000 *sc.* drachmae'), but the nominative feminine plural followed by the accusative in the next line remains inexplicable. Berenice's argument presumably was that the firm had outstanding debts which were secured on the wine, i.e. there was no free capital to divide.

20–22 κελεύει is perhaps a more suitable supplement than ᾔτησε, but if an infinitive is to be supplied in l. 22 (e.g. ἀναδοῦναι), the construction of the following words becomes difficult.

23 The incomplete word is neither κυρίων, μυρίων, nor πληρῶν; τριῶν preceded by an adscript iota would be possible, but the whole expression is peculiar. ἀγράφων might refer to debts either (1) not entered in the ledger, but of which some other written record existed, or (2) entered in the ledger but of which the original record no longer existed.

27 μεθοδεύω in the sense *cheat, get round*, has not occurred before in the documentary papyri. (For other contemporary examples see W. Bauer, *Wörterbuch z. NT*[4], s.v.)

29 The usual meaning of κατοπτεύω is *spy, observe closely*; it is cited from Petosiris (*ap.* Vettius Valens 112. 37) in the sense *exert a baleful influence* and it was probably used in a similar though less technical meaning here.

32 The writer may have intended to continue with βήματος.

37 l. ἀξιῶ.

40 Κῶι is to be identified with the Κῶς or Κῶ of Ptolemy and Stephanus of Byzantium; they locate it on the west bank near to Cynopolis, and Ptolemy appears to identify it with the metropolis of the Cynopolite nome. Grenfell and Hunt (*Hibeh Papyri*, p. 8) argued from the existence of the Κωίτης τόπος of the Heracleopolite nome that its capital was Κῶς or Κῶ, and that Ptolemy wrongly identified it with Cynopolis. They remark that papyri provide no evidence for its existence; the present text, from the nome adjoining the Heracleopolite, certainly strengthens their hypothesis.

42 Or προσανα- | [φερ-.

43 The writer may have been hesitating between διά and ἄχρι.

2343. Petition against Nomination as Decaprotus

31 × 25·2 cm. *c.* A.D. 288.

At least one column of this document is missing; in what survives we have the final lines of an agreement with a note of publication to which was attached a copy of a petition to the prefect Gaius Valerius Pompeianus with his *subscriptio* and a copy (incomplete and mutilated) of a letter addressed by a presumably earlier prefect to the authorities of Oxyrhynchus on the status of eirenarchs. The petitioner is an eirenarch of Oxyrhynchus who has, as he claims, been improperly nominated to the office of decaprotus (on the decaproti see E. G. Turner in *JEA* xxii (1936), pp. 7 seq.). In view of the attached letter it is most probable that he is claiming exemption as an eirenarch, but it is possible that he is doing so on the ground that he had held the office

before; we know from **1410** that renomination was forbidden, but it is also clear that this regulation was not observed; cf. **1204, 1260, 1410.** In the surviving petition he seems most concerned to point out how difficult he has found it to get a hearing from the prefect.

The verso is blank.

].ṭ[.].[.]ṣ καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς [ὡ]μολόγησα· Αὐρήλιος Ἑρμ[ῖ]ṇος ὑ[π]ηρέτης ἐπήνεγκα ἔτους δ′ καὶ ἔτους γ′.

].. καὶ ἐξεδ(όθη) ὥρᾳ πρώτῃ.

] ἀντίγραφον βιβλιδίου ἐ[πιδο]θέντος διὰ Νεμεσιανοῦ ἀṇ[οσ]υσταθέντος τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ἡγεμονίας.

[Γαΐῳ Οὐ]αλερίῳ Πομπηϊ[α]ṇῷ τῷ διασημ[ο]τάτῳ ἡγεμόνι

5 [παρὰ Σε]πτιμίου Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ καὶ Διογένους εἰρηνάρχ(ου) τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως

[διὰ Νε]μεσιανοῦ Θέωνος ἀποσυσταθέντος· ὀνομασθεὶς οὐ δεόντως εἰς δεκαπρωτείαν ὑπὸ Δημητριανοῦ

[ἐνεκ]ạλεσάμην καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑπογραφήν με ὁρῶν ἁρπαζόμενων παράγγειλα[ς] ἐν[[ε]]τυχεῖν σοι ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπομνημά-

[των...]. εγυησ..[[.]] ἐδιδαξάμην ἀπὸ τῆς β′ τοῦ ὅν[τος μ]ṇνὸς Τῦβι Χρυσάμ-

[μ]ωνα ṛήτορα καὶ διατ..δρομην ει

[.....τῆ]ς β′ τοῦ Δίος οὐθὲν τετύχηκạ τῇ δὲ γ′ ἔ[ναν]τι σοι εὐτυχῶς εἰς τὸ φροντιστήριον προσῆλθον καὶ ἔφησθα

10 [..... .].ḳοις καὶ πρεσβείαις σχολάζειν καὶ σήμερον [αὖ] ṣọι τὸ δ' ἐνέτυχον {σο[ι]} πρὸς τῷ δαφνῶνί σε ἀσφαλίσασθαι

[τὸν χρηματι]ṣμὸν βουλόμενος καὶ ἔφησθα πάλιν βιβ[λί]ạ τῷ [μεγαλ]ẹίῳ ἐπι⟨δι⟩δόνα[ι· δι]ὸ πληρῷ[σω]ν τὰ ὑπό ṣọν προστετα-

[γμένα ἐπιδίδ]ṣμι ẹ̣ḳ ḳọλ(λήματος) .α καὶ ἀξιῶ παραγραφὴν νυṇ [.....]αχειṛạṇ ακουσ[...]ṭ..χαριτα..[.....]λι..ạ[.]α

[.....] διευτύχει· Σεπτίμιος Ἡρακλείδης ὁ [καὶ Διογένης δι' ἐ]μοὺ Νεμε-[σιαν]ο(ῦ) [ἀποσυ]ṣταθ[έντος .]ṭṇọṇ[....]

[.....]ạṭọ[.].ṭ[....]ṣ ~ εἰ παραγραφὴ μ[..... παρ]ήγγειλας [....] ṭṇροστάγματος ἔτους ..[.]... επι

15 [.....]ṣι ημε[....] ḳολ(λήματος) πα τό(μου) α

[Ἀν]τίγραφον ἐπιστολῆς ἡγεμονικῆς περὶ κ[.....] εἰρηναρχῶν

[.....Π]ερεγρῆνος στρατηγῷ καὶ προπο[λιτευομ]ένοις Ὀξυρυγχίτ[ου χ]ạ[ί]-ρειν ἵνα π.[..].γε πᾶσα

[.....].η ὑπάρχῃ τοῦ συνεχῶς αἰτίας ἢ δ[.....]ṇαι μηνὸς ἑ[νὸς ἐβε]ḅαιώσατο πημάτων ọἰ ṭẹṛị

[.....].ομον γεινομένης ἡ ἴση μέντοι καὶ τ[.....]τοị λοιπο[....]ṭ[ο]ṇ αὐτοῖς τεταγμένọṇ ..ομον

20 [.....] εἶναι ἔδοξεν ἐπιτραπῆναι ὑμεῖν [.....] [[χ]] ὁ πεπị[στευμέν]ọṣ ..θῃ..ṇμερων [...]. ὅσοι ἂν

[..... ἠλλη]λομισῆσθαι καὶ προαγορεῦσαι ὑμẹ̣ḭṇ [.....].τηṇ.[..... ..].ων προηση ḳạθ[ ]

1 ὑπ. P 7 ὑπογ. P l. ἁρπαζόμενον παραγ'γειλας (l. παρήγ.) P and in 14. 9 l. Δίου, σοι 12 ἐκ' P 17 final α of πασα written over ṣ 18 ὑπ. P 21 ? l. προήσει

Ll. 3 seq.: 'Copy of a petition delivered through Nemesianus, representative, to his highness the prefect. To Caius Valerius Pompeianus the most illustrious prefect from Septimius Heracleides also known as Diogenes, eirenarch of the distinguished and most distinguished city of Oxyrhynchus, acting through his agent Nemesianus son of Theon. Being improperly nominated to the office of decaprotus by Demetrianus I lodged a complaint and you, seeing that I was being outrageously treated, in your reply instructed me to apply to you at your audience .... I instructed the advocate Chrysammon from the second of the current month and ... the second of Dius met with no success, but on the third I succeeded in entering the court to your presence and you said you were busy with ... and embassies, and today for the fourth time I again appealed to you at the laurel grove, as I wished that you should certify the document and you again told me to hand in a written petition to your highness. Wherefore in fulfilment of your instructions in accordance with file no. ... I hand in this petition and ask for an entry .... Farewell.'

1 If the Tubi of l. 8 was that of year 4 = year 3, the date of the first document could not have been earlier than January 288.

2 Or ἐξέδ(ωκα).

5 Heracleides was clearly eirenarch of the nome, not of one of its subdivisions; cf. **2107** introd., and *RE.* Suppl. iii s.v.

6 Demetrianus may be identified with the decaprotus of 286 (cf. **1260** and **1410**) and 299 (cf. **1204**); he seems to have made a habit of improperly nominating someone to this liturgy.

7 Or [ἐπεκ]αλεσάμην; I can find no other instance of the middle use of either in the sense *lodge a complaint.* It seems certain that some compound of καλέω was written here; the only alternative to λ would be δ.

ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων; the expression also occurs in **1204,** 9 where the editors translate 'in a memorandum', but apart from the strangeness of using ἐπὶ with a genitive in this sense, a singular rather than a plural would be expected. I should prefer to translate 'at the time of the presentation of memoranda'.

8 After εγυησ, ạι, ạṛ, or ṛ are all possible readings; it is uncertain how far the subsequent erasure was intended to extend; hence the alternative readings, ι or ν, in the second place. The scribe is careless and some form either of ἐγγύη or ἐγγυάω may have been intended; but neither seems in place here.

ἐδιδαξάμην; the middle voice may be used in a technical sense 'instruct' as in English of a client or solicitor 'instructing' a barrister.

The end of the line is as obscure as the beginning. μηνεί = μηνί could not be reconciled with the preceding letters. Conceivably δρομή = δρόμος and the allusion is to the famous δρόμος of Alexandria, but the reading remains hardly less obscure.

9 It is strange to find a Macedonian month-name being used in the third century A.D.; every instance given in Preisigke, *WB*, comes from a Ptolemaic document.

10 δαφνῶνι: I can find no other reference to a prefect giving audience in a laurel grove.

12 The reading after *ἐπιδίδωμι* presents considerable difficulties. The *λ* is certain and is placed well above the line so there can be no doubt that the word to which it belongs was abbreviated; *β* could be read for *κ*, but the presence of the apostrophe above and just in front of the *κ* implies that the identical letter also precedes (cf. *παράγ'γειλα[ς]* in l. 7). Hence the reading given in the text; the reference may be to the *ὑπογραφή* of l. 7 or to a written record of the Prefect's remarks referred to in the preceding line. *ρα* (cf. l. 15) could be read.

14 *παρήγγειλας*: probably used as in **1204,** 26 of the complainant giving notice to his nominator of the action he is proposing to take.

16 There is scarcely room for *κ[ατασ̄τάσεως*.

17 No prefect of this name has hitherto been known; his tenure of office may have fallen between that of M. Aurelius Diogenes and that of Pompeianus (see A. Stein, *Die Präfekten von Ägypten*, p. 156) and he may tentatively be identified with Iucundius Peregrinus, *vir perfectissimus, praeses* known from a Mauretanian stone (see A. Stein in *RE* ix 2397); the *nomen* would fit nicely in the gap at the beginning of the line.

18 Perhaps *δ[ε̄ήσεις*. The writing at the end of the line is blurred and *ρις* might be read.

19 The writing at the ends of these final lines is loose and strung out; *νόμον* may have been written with an extra loop between the *ν* and the *ο*. *χρόνον* cannot be read.

21 *ἀλληλομισέω* is quoted in LSJ only from P. Mag. Lond. 46, 108.

2344. Petition of a Bishop

45×22·8 cm. *c.* A.D. 336.

Fragmentary as this text is, it is of some interest as one of the earliest documents in which a Christian bishop figures. It is addressed to the strategus of the nome (more correctly described in a petition from a priest of Zeus, Hera, and other gods as *curator*, cf. **1260,** 5 and **1303**);[1] the subject of the petition is apparently the management of an estate and the guardianship of some children, obligations which the petitioner wishes to avoid or which he claims a second party has evaded, thus thrusting the burden on him (for the strategus as the appointing authority in guardianship cases see Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt* i, p. 121). Apart from the main text there is a small detached fragment, probably from the lower part of the left side, reading]ε̣λ̣ι̣..[|]ρ̣χόντω[ν | γ]ράφεται[.].[|]δια μετα.[. In the upper margin may be read:

[*c.* 40 ll.]ακρ̣ν̣.[....]μ̣ι̣αρ.[..]μ.[.]ω[.....]τιφαι̣[.].[

Φλ̣α̣[ουί]ῳ Παρανίῳ στρατη[γῷ Ὀξυρυ]γχίτ̣ρ̣[υ] π̣ρ̣ὰ Διον[υσίο]υ ἐπισκόπου κ̣αθολικῆ̣[ς ἐκκλη]σίά̣ς τ̣ῆ̣ς αὐ[τ]ῆ⟨ς⟩ πόλε[ως] χ[.].λ̣[c. 20 ll.]

ρ̣ι̣[..]..κ̣οῦντί σοι τὴν ε̣ρ̣..[....]ν̣ μου ταύτην λ̣ε̣.[....]. ἐπιδίδ̣[ω]μι ἀ̣λ̣λ̣' ἵνα ειχ[...]..[.]η̣μένης λόγος ἐ̣π̣ι̣τ̣η̣ρῆ̣ται ἐ̣ν̣ τ̣ῷ̣ [c. 15 ll.]

[..]ψ̣ε̣ν· τὸν βίον γὰρ του[.....]..ε̣ρ̣.τιου ἐξερχομένου οὐδεὶς τῶν ἐν π[ό]λει τι̣ς̣ τ̣[ο]λίτ̣ης ἄλλοι δέ σοι αὐτὸ [..]τ̣ρ̣[..]α̣θ̣[c. 12 ll.]δ̣ι̣

[1] Mr. B. R. Rees has pointed out to me that in P. Ryl. iv 654, 14, 16 the strategus and the curator are separate officials with the strategus taking priority; it should then be placed earlier than **2344.**

[...]ι̣ως ἕκαστο..[.]ων π̣υ̣[.].[.....]...θηναι καὶ πῶς καὶ παρὰ τίνος ἐβουλήθη ἀλλ[ὰ] τ̣ί δὴ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν [.].[..]ν̣ χρόνος τις [.]..[.....]

5 *[...]ππευσεν τοῦ ετ[c.* 19 ll. *Μακρο]βίου τοῦ καὶ τὴν κηδεμονίαν καὶ τῶν παιδ[ῶ]ν καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐγγράφων [ἐ]γκεχιρι[σμέ]ν̣ο̣ν̣*

[....] ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς ἀξ̣[c. 14 ll. *] ἐγὼ πάλιν καὶ π̣α̣ρ' αὐτοῦ απου.ε̣ρ̣[.] ἀνε̣δη̣[σ]άμην καὶ τὴν ἐγχειρισθε̣ῖ̣[σ]α̣ν̣ α̣ὐτ̣[ῷ] διοίκησι̣ν̣ .[...]*

[..].υπατην κα̣ι̣[c. 21 ll. *]ων ἢ χερὶ σωθῆναι ἢ βλαβῆναι διὰ τὴν αλ[..]ν̣.ιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ..ο̣λ̣[..]η̣....[..]τ̣ι̣χ̣[.]ν̣.[.....].α*

[..]φρον̣τ̣[ι]σαν̣τ̣[..]..[c. 18 ll. *]η̣κ̣[.] π̣ρ̣[ω]τ̣ο̣τύπως κα̣ὶ̣ τὴν ἐμὴν ἐπιστασίαν ἀπόλλυσθαι μέλλο[υσαν c.* 21 ll. *]η̣*

φ̣ρ̣[.....]ε̣δ̣α̣τ̣[c. 20 ll. *] δ̣υναμ̣[ένο]ν̣ τὴν φ̣[ρο]ντίδ̣α̣ αὐτῶν ποιεῖ̣[σθα]ι πρ̣ω̣τοτύπως μὲν δ[c.* 14 ll. *με̣]χρι*

10 *ρ̣ι̣α̣[..]η̣τ̣[c.* 22 ll. *]ξ̣ν̣[...]θαι δ̣ι̣ὰ̣ ταῦτα ταύτης ἀμελεῖν ἧς ρ̣[.].ε̣χ̣[.] προν̣[ρ]γιαίτ̣ερον δ̣ι̣χ̣[.....]μι..[..].λ̣ρ̣.*

ἐν τῇ ετε.[c. 20 ll. *].ον διὰ τοῦτο ταῦτά σοι τὰ ἔγγραφα ἐπι̣[δ]ίδ̣ωμι μήποτέ τις ἢ βλάβρ̣[ς ἢ παρα]χερσία .[....]...ι̣*

ὀρφανο[c. 26 ll. *]. εἰς ἐμὲ τὸ αἴτιον ἀναδράμῃ .[....].[.]ρ̣υ νόμου καί σε κ̣άρτα ρ̣[.....]ς τὰ ἔγγραφα*

[.]τ̣[c. 18 ll. *]ρ̣[.....κε]φάλιον ἐν τῇ σῇ τάξι ερ̣.[..] .ι̣ωνδι̣[.]α̣.ν̣.[....]ης τῶν παιδῶν αὐτοῦ [...]αι.[..]νιας κ̣α̣ὶ̣ τ..ω̣*

χ̣[c. 24 ll. *]μ̣ου ἀ̣λ̣λ̣[ὰ αἰ]τίας ἀλλότ̣ριος καθεσ[τ c.* 14 ll. *π]εποίημαι ἐν τῷ ὀλιγίστῳ χρόνῳ καὶ τὰ χώρι̣α*

15 *[c.* 13 ll. *]ψ̣αντα ὡς ὑπ̣ε̣ρ̣είληφ̣[.] ἐὰν εστι[.....]ταλ̣[c.* 18 ll. *] ἀξιῶ π̣...ῆναι Μακροβίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ μου*

[c. 14 ll. *]νοιαν ὑποτιμήσηται τὸν κίνδυνο[ν c.* 24 ll. *]ν̣[....]ν̣ ἀφορῶντος καὶ γενομένης ἀπολω-*

[c. 11 ll. *κε]φ̣ά̣λι̣ο̣ν̣ ἢ αὐτοῦ ἢ τῶν προνο̣[ο]ν̣[μένων c.* 28 ll. *ὀλί]γῳ χρόνῳ γενομένην*

[c. 16 ll. *ἀ]ληθῆ ἐ̣ν̣τ̣ε̣ῦ̣θ̣ε̣ν̣ [c.* 45 ll. *].ιας καὶ δημοσίων πρα-*

[c. 75 ll. *τοῦ] κυρίου μου ⟨τοῦ⟩ διασημο-*

[τάτου c. 77 ll. *].τρα ἀ̣λ̣λ̣[*

. . . . . .

[1] In **1260** Flavius Paranius is described as *ὁ καὶ Μακρόβιος*; the Macrobius of ll. 5 and 15 of **2344** is to be distinguished from him.

καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία: the earliest example in the papyri of this epithet applied to a local church is *Stud. Pal.* xv 103 (A.D. 331): cf. Eitrem on P. Oslo. iii 113 (A.D. 346).

2 *οἰκονομοῦντι* cannot be read. For the latter part of the line cf. Mitteis, *Chr.* 372 III 5: *ἀξιοῦντος τηρηθῆναι αὐτῷ λόγον τῆς ὑφαιρέσεως πρὸς τὸν . . . .*

3 Perhaps *τοῦ* [*ἀνδρὸς* followed by a proper name.

4 *δὴ*: perhaps for *δεῖ*.

5 *καθί*]*πτευσεν* (perhaps preceded by *ἐν ᾧ* at the end of the preceding line) seems unavoidable.

15 Neither *γραφῆναι*, *δοθῆναι*, nor ⟨*ἐπι*⟩*σταλῆναι* can be read after *ἀξιῶ*. There may be four letters in the gap between *τ* and *η*.

2345. Application for Membership of the Gymnasium

Frag. (*a*) 40·5 × 21·7 cm. A.D. 224.

On fragment (*a*) both upper and lower margins are preserved, but the text is broken both to right and to left; if the supplement suggested in the note to ll. 8–9 is correct, the length of a line of the text would have been over 90 cm. However, the formulas employed differ from those familiar from other texts and we are not obliged to think that the line, long as it must have been, was quite as long as this. Fragment (*b*) is a small piece broken on all sides whose relative position to (*a*) is determined by l. 2.

A close parallel in some respects is provided by **2186** (which also had a very long line) and P.S.I. 457.

κατὰ τὰ κελευσ]θέντα π̣[ε]ρ[ὶ ἐπικρ]ίσεως τ[ῶ]ν π̣[ροσ]β(αινόντων) εἰ[ς τ]ρὺς̣ [ἐ]κ
[το]ῦ γυμν[α]σ[ίο]υ ἢ ἐ̣ίσ̣ιν τοῦ γέν[ο]ν[ς τούτου ἐ]τ[άγη ἐπ' ἀμφόδου
ὁ υἱὸς μου μητ(ρὸς) ὢν] πρὸς τ̣[ὸ ἐνεστὸς γ (ἔτος)] (ἐτῶν) ιδ οὐ(λὴ)
[. . . . .]π̣ε[.].ων μανθά[νων] γράμματα [..] ὅθεν [πα]ραγ̣ενόμενος
πρὸς̣ τ̣ὴν τρ̣ύ̣[του ἐπίκ(ρισιν) δηλῶ
]ς καὶ [..]ε̣ν̣[. . . . . ἐ]π̣ικ(εκρίσθαι) ἐ[π' ἀμφό]δου Δρόμου [Γ]υμν[α]σίου
ἀκ[ολού]θ[ως] αἷς ἐπήνεγκ̣εν ἀποδείξεσι τὸν ἑαυτ[οῦ πατέ]ρα̣ .[
]ν̣ται ο̣τ.α̣ξ̣.[. . . . ἀναγ]ρ(αφόμενον) ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Μυροβαλάνου ἐμὲ δὲ
προσβ(αίνοντα) εἰς ιγ (ἔτος) θεοῦ Μάρκου ἐπικ(εκρίσθαι) λ( )
φω̣.[. . . .]ι̣[.]κ.[
5 *τὸν τοῦ ἐμοῦ] πατρὸς [πατέρα τὸν δὲ] τοῦ υἱοῦ μου πρόπαππον Σ̣α̣ραπίωνα τὸν*
καὶ Παυσειρίωνα τετελ(ευτηκέναι) πρὸ τῆς τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) ε (ἔτους)
Οὐεσ(πασιανοῦ) ἐ̣π̣ικ(ρίσεως) [
] ἐπικ(εκριμένον) [τῷ] ε (ἔτει) ἐ̣[π' ἀμφ]όδου Ἡρ̣ώουκ αἰ τὸν πάππο(ν)
α(ὐτοῦ) Ἀπολλώνιον προσβ(αίνόντα) ἐπικ(ρίσει) τῷ ε (ἔτει) Οὐεσ-
(πασιανοῦ) ἐπικ(εκριμένον) ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Νεμεσε[ίου
] Ἀπολλώνιον ἐπικ(εκρίσθαι) τῷ β (ἔτει) θεοῦ Αἰλίου Ἀντωνίνου ἐπ'
ἀμφόδου τοῦ αὐτοῦ παρασχὸν δὲ τῇ ζ( ) [

καὶ ὀμνύω τὴν Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου] Καίσαρος τ[οῦ κυρίου]
τ̣ύχην μὴ ἐψεῦσθαι ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ προγεγ(ραμμένα) καὶ εἶναι τὸν
Αὐρήλιον Διόσκορον φύσι ἐμοῦ κ̣αὶ̣ τῆς̣ Ἀπ[υἱὸν
ἢ ἔνο]χος ε[ἴην τῷ ὅρκ]ῳ· (ἔτους) γ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ Ἐ̣πεὶ[φ] α̣ [

1 At the beginning of this line must have stood the names and title of the officials addressed, cf. **2186**, 1.

2 No other application for *epikrisis* mentions the candidate's literacy as a qualification; it clearly cannot have been a requisite.

4 *αναγ]ρ( ): επι]κ* cannot be read.

7 P.S.I. 457, 16 reads *παρασχόντα τη*[.] *εἰσκριφ*... at a similar point in the text. In **2345** the *τα* may have been omitted in error, but it is certain that the following noun was not *εἴσκρισις*. *ζ(ητήσει)* should perhaps be read = *inquiry*, i.e. *committee of inquiry*.

8–9 A probable supplement here, based on **2186**, 11 would be (the name, of course, is merely given *exempli gratia*) *Ἀπ[ολλωνίας υἱὸν καὶ μητὲ θέσι μήτε ὑπόβλητον μηδὲ ἀλλοτρίαις ἀσφαλείαις ἢ ὁμωνυμίαις κέχρῆσθαι ἢ ἔνο]χος κτλ.*

2346. Register of Receipts of Taxes in Kind

70·9 × 32·6 cm. Second half of third century A.D.

Part of an official register written in a large, clear, and elegant hand with wide spaces between the entries. Payers are divided into social or financial classes and at the end of each section the total received or due from that particular class was entered; so in l. 22 the total is given of the corn paid by the class 'from cosmetes to councillors', and the next section begins with the heading *ἀρχοντικῶν καὶ δημοτῶν* (see note ad loc.). I have not succeeded in finding any parallel to this. Inside the sections the names of the payers, arranged in rough alphabetical order and accompanied by a brief description (e.g. father's name or profession), are on the left of the column; on the right is the total amount due and below the entry a statement of the amount already paid, the granary at which it was delivered, and usually a reference to the payer's file-number (for this cf., for example, P. Flor. iii 386, P. Cairo Preis. 29). There are no dates, nor is there any indication either of the tax or taxes concerned or of the size of the holdings on which the demand was made.

To the right are the initial letters of the subsequent column. On the verso is **2338**.

Col. i

] (*ἀρτ.*) *σ κα* L

] *Ὡρίωνος τοῦ καὶ*
] *Βουβαστοῦτος Διο-*
] (*γιν.*) (*ἀρτ.*) *πϛ̣Ἑ χ*(*οίν.*) *β*

5] καὶ Διονυσία ἀδε(λφὴ) (ἀρτ.) ιγ χ(οίν.) η

]. καὶ ὀνό(ματι) Ἰσιδω-
] (ἀρτ.)

] Ἀπολλωνοῦς
] (ἀρτ.) ρϛ χ(οίν.) η

Col. ii

ιγ

10 Διογένης ̣παρ' Ἀπίωνος (ἀρτ.) με L
(ὧν) με(μέ)τ(ρηκεν) θησ(αυρῷ) κόλ(λημα) ιε Θώλθ(εως) (ἀρτ.) μδ
Πτολεμαῖος ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος δι' Ἀρσινόου
υἱοῦ (ἀρτ.) ξ χ(οίν.) ϛ
Τιθοητίων Ἱέρακος (ἀρτ.) ογ L
15 (ὧν) με(μέ)τ(ρηκεν) θησ(αυρῷ) κόλ(λημα) ιε Θώλθεως (ἀρτ.) ογ
Ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ Σαραπίων Γαίου ἀ(πὸ) τῶν ἀπὸ κώ(μης)
εἰς τρ( ) γ( )ενετ( ) Φοβώου
γετ( ) υμ( ) (ἀρτ.) κη χ(οίν.) δ
(ὧν) με(μέ)τ(ρηκεν) θησ(αυρῷ) Θώλθεως Τιθοητίων (ἀρτ.) ι̣δ
Σερῆνος Ὠριγένους καὶ Θῶνις Σαραπάμ-
20 μῶνος (ἀρτ.) ιαξ χ(οίν.) ϛ
(ὧν) με(με)τ(ρήκασι) θησ(αυρῷ) Σέσφθα κόλ(λημα) διὰ Θωνίου (ἀρτ.) δ
γ(ίν.) κοσμη(τῶν) ἕως βουλ(ευτῶν) (ἀρτ.) ἀχκεξ χ(οίν.) ϛ

14 ἱερ. P 16 γαΐου P

Col. iii

ιδ

ἀρχοντικῶν καὶ δημοτῶν
Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ καὶ Φιλοξένιος (ἀρτ.) μ L χ(οίν.) η
25 (ὧν) με(με)τ(ρήκασι) θησ(αυρῷ) κόλ(λημα) ε Ταλάω (ἀρτ.) κ
Ἀπίων ὁ καὶ Σαραπίων καὶ Ἰσάριον ἀδελ(φὴ) (ἀρτ.) κξd χ(οίν.) β
(ὧν) με(με)τ(ρήκασι) θησ(αυρῷ) Ταλάω κόλ(λημα) ε (ἀρτ.) κβ
⸗Ἀπία Πατερμουθίου (ἀρτ.) θL
(ὧν) με(μέ)τ(ρηκεν) θησ(αυρῷ) κόλ(λημα) ε Ταλάω (ἀρτ.) θιβ'

30 ⸗Ἀμύντας Σερήνου (ἀρτ.) λϛL χ(οίν.) δ
(ὧν) με(μέ)τ(ρηκεν) θησ(αυρῷ) Ταλάω ἐν (ἀρτ) μα (ἀρτ.) λϛL χ(οίν.) δ
Ἀνουβίων Ἀρείου τοῦ κ(αὶ) Ἰούστου (ἀρτ.) ιη L
(ὧν) με(μέ)τ(ρηκεν) θησ(αυρῷ) κόλ(λημα) ε Ἰσίου Τρύφωνος (ἀρτ.) ιη
Ἀντώνιος Πασίωνος καὶ Λεοντοῦς
35 Σαραπάμμωνος γυνὴ δι(ὰ) Πασίωνος
τοῦ καὶ Διοσκόρου καὶ Φιλίππου καὶ τῶν ἀδελφ(ῶν)
(ἀρτ.) πβ καὶ ἀ(πὸ) Σαραπάμμωνος τοῦ καὶ

26 ἴσαρ. P

Col. iv

ιε

Σερήνου κοσ(μητοῦ) (ἀρτ.) πγd' χ(οίν.) β γ(ίν.) (ἀρτ.) ρξεd χ(οίν.) β
λοιπ(αὶ) πεd χ(οίν.) β (ὧν) με(μέ)τ(ρηκεν) θησ(αυρῷ) Θώλθ(εως) δ(ιὰ) Φιλίππου
(ἀρτ.) ρξ
40 π' Ἀμμωνίλλη ἡ καὶ Θαῆσις Ἀμμωνιανοῦ (ἀρτ.) λδ L χ(οίν.) [.]
γ ὧν με(μέ)τ(ρηκεν) θησ(αυρῷ) Θώλθεως (ἀρτ.) λβ
Ἀντώνιος στρατιωτὴς δ(ιὰ) τῶν κλη(ρονόμων) (ἀρτ.) θ
Ἀμμωνιανὸς ἱππεὺς ὀνό(ματι) κλη(ρονόμων) Θεωνίλ-
λης θυγ(ατρὸς) Θέωνος Ἑρμίου (ἀρτ.) ρη L
45 ὧν με(μέ)τ(ρηκεν) θησ(αυρῷ) Θώλθ(εως) (ἀρτ.) ρβ
Αἰλουρίων ὁ καὶ Ἱέραξ Μαρκέλλου (ἀρτ.) .. L
(ὧν) με(μέ)τ(ρηκεν) θησ(αυρῷ) Ταλάω ἀπὸ (ἀρτ.) ρκ (ἀρτ.) ιζ L
Ἀμμωνιοῦς θυγ(ατὴρ) Ἀμμωνᾶ Ζωίλου ἀρχι-
(πρ)ότερ(ον) Ζωίλου
ἀρχιερατ(εύσαντος) ερατ(εύσαντος) (ἀρτ.) ληd χ(οίν.) β
50 ὧν με(μέ)τρηκεν θησ(αυρῷ) Σέσφθα κόλ(λημα) [.] (ἀρτ.) λ

43 ἵππευς P 46 ἱεραξ P

Col. v

Διδύμη Ἀμμωνᾶ (ἀρτ.) μα
(ὧν) με(μέ)τ(ρηκεν) θησ(αυρῷ) Σέσφθα (ἀρτ.) θd χ(οίν.) α ἄλ(λας) (ἀρτ.) η
ἄλ(λας) δ(ιὰ) Σαβεί̣ν̣(ης)
ἄλ(λας) δ(ιὰ) Λεοντᾶτος (ἀρτ.) ε
55 Ζώιλος Ἀμμωνᾶ διὰ κλη(ρονόμων) (ἀρτ.) λL
(ὧν) με(μέ)τ(ρηκεν) θησ(αυρῷ) Σέσφθα κόλ(λημα) ε (ἀρτ.) ιε

Θεόδωρος Νείλου (ἀρτ.) μα καὶ ὀνό(ματι) Ταυρείνου καὶ Διδύμης γυναικὸ(ς) (ἀρτ.) μ..

(ὧν) με(μέ)τ(ρηκεν) θησ(αυρῷ) Σέσφθα κόλ(λημα) ιγ (ἀρτ.) ο.ϟ χ(οίν.) ἄλ(λας) (ἀρτ.) ιγ χ(οίν.) δ

Διδύμη ἡ καὶ Ἀμμωνίαινα θυγ(ατὴρ) Ἀδράστου

60 δ(ιὰ) τῶν κλη(ρονόμων) (ἀρτ.) θ

Δεῖος Ζωίλου κα[ὶ] τὰ τ[έ]κνα (ἀρτ.) οθd χ(οίν.) β

(ὧν) με(μέ)τ(ρηκεν) θησ(αυρῷ) Ταλάω κόλ(λημα) ε (ἀρτ.) ο[.]

Διογένης καὶ Διόγενις ἀδελφὴ (ἀρτ.) σL χ(οίν.) γ

(ὧν) με(με)τ(ρήκασι) θησ(αυρῷ) Ταλάω κόλ(λημα) ς διὰ Παμούνε[ω]ς γεωργ(οῦ) (ἀρτ.) ς

10 τ) = τ(οῦ) Σαραπίωνος might be read, but the article is not required here, and it is best to take παρά = *representing*, if indeed the π is not a slip for a σ.

16 The marginal note against this line is written in a small cursive hand. The first words would normally be expanded εἰς τρά(πεζαν) γυ(μνασίου), but the mention of a bank is out of place in an account of payments in kind. The next word could be read as ἐμέτ(ρησεν).

21 The numeral after κολ( ) has been omitted.

22 Or κοσμη(τευσάντων) and βουλ(ευσάντων).

23 There is no parallel to this usage of either ἀρχοντικός or δημότης in the papyri. For the former Preisigke, *WB*, quotes only ἀρχοντικὴ ὑπηρεσία (where the reference is to the prefect) from P. Grenf. ii 82, 15 of the fifth century and a few similar Byzantine passages; the latter is not found before the sixth century in the papyri, e.g. P. Lond. 113, 1, 116: δημότης τῆς Ἀρσινοϊτῶν πόλεως. Here Preisigke comments *dessen Stand aus der alten Demenverfassung herrührt*. This cannot be right, as the metropoleis had no deme organization: it must mean here and in P. Lond. 113 *member of the* δῆμος, i.e. *townsman*, as opposed to *countryman* (so Bell on P. Lond. 1678, 7). I can only surmise that ἀρχοντικός means member of a family which has provided archons, but one would expect such men to be classified with the cosmetes and councillors, not with the δήμοται.

2347. Deed of Surety

33·6 × 28·2 cm. A.D. 362.

I know of no precise parallel to this document, in which, through an affidavit addressed to the curators, *A* guarantees that *B* will fulfil his duties as a shipper in transporting public grain to Alexandria for consignment to the *navicularii marini*. That skippers themselves had to supply similar undertakings was known from **87** (for receipts for the corn issued by the skippers cf. **1259** and **1260**), while a sworn surety was commonly required at this period from liturgists (cf. E. Seidl, *Der Eid* ii, pp. 70 seq.).

The verso is blank.

[.....].[.....]. λογισταῖς [τῆς λαμπροτάτης Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεω]ς

[παρ]ὰ [Αὐρηλί]ου Ζευξίο[υ Σαρα]πίωνος ἀπὸ [κώμης Πέλα τοῦ Ὀξυρυγχί]του νομοῦ ὁμολογῶ ὀμνὺς τὸν

σ[ε]βάσμιον [θεῖον] ὅρκον το[ῦ δεσ]πότου ἡμῶν Ἰο[υλια]νοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγ[ο]ύστου ἑκουσίως καὶ αὐθαιρέτως ἐγγυᾶσθαι

Αὐρήλιον Ὡροπτ[ο]λέειν ἀ[πὸ] τῆς λαμ(προτάτης) Ἀντινοε[ιτῶν] πόλεως καταγινόμενον ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ κώμῃ Πέλα ἐν-

5 πισ̣τευθε[ὶ]ς ὑπὸ τούτου ἔχειν ὅπερ κέκτη[τ]αι πλοῖον ἑλληνικὸν φικοπήδαλον ἀγωγῆς ἀρταβῶν

δισχιλίων[ν] πλεῖ[ο]ν ἔλαττο[ν ἐ]πὶ τῷ αὐτὸν ἐνπ[λ]εῖν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πλοίῳ τὴν κυβερνηθίαν τούτου πριούμενον

καὶ ο[ὕσπ]ερ ἐὰν ὑποδέξη[ται γ]όμους δημοσίων γενημάτων ἀ[κ]ολούθως τοῖς ἐπιδιδομένοις ὑπ' αὐτο[ῦ] ⟨κατὰ⟩

χειρογραφίαν καταγαγεῖν ἐπαὶ τὴν λαμπρο[τ]ά[τ]ην Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἢ ὁπουδὰν προσταχθῇ καὶ παραδοῦναι

γ[αυκλ]ηροῦσ[ι] καὶ τῆς τούτων παραδόσεως [τὰ] γράμματα ἐπενεγκεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς εὐτυχοῦς ἑκτῆς νέας

10 ἰνδικτίονος πρὸς τὸ μηδεμίαν μέμ[ψιν μοι] περὶ αὐτὸν γενέσθαι καὶ ὁπόταν αἱρῇ παραδοῦναι αὐτὸν

τὸ αὐτοῦ πλοῖον μετὰ καὶ τῆς τούτου ἐξαρτίσεως ἐὰν ὑποδέξητε χωρὶς Θεοῦ βίας ἢ ἐμὲ τον ἐγγυ-

[ώμεν]ον ἐπαναγκὲς ὑποστῆναι πάντα τὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ τούτου ζητούμενα ἢ ἔνοχος εἴην

τῷ θείῳ ὅρκῳ.

(2nd h.) Αὐρήλιος Ζεύξιος Σαραπίωνος ὤμοσα τὸν θεῖον ὅρκον ἐνγυώμενος τὸν Ὡροπτολέειν

15 ὡς πρόκειται καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμολ(όγησα)· Αὐ[ρή]λιος Ἀπίων Εὐποθίο(υ) ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ

[γράμ]ματα μὴ εἰδότος

(1st h.) δι(ὰ) ἐμοῦ Ἁρπάλου εκ( )

'To . . . curators of the most distinguished city of Oxyrhynchus, from Aurelius Zeuxius son of Sarapion from the village of Pela in the Oxyrhynchite nome. I agree, swearing the august and divine oath by our master Julianus, eternal Augustus, that willingly and of my own choice I go bail for Aurelius Horoptoleeis, of the most distinguished city of the Antinoites, resident in the said village of Pela, having been assured by him that he has a Hellenic vessel (which is his property) . . . rudder, of two thousand artabas burden, more or less: on the understanding that he sails in the said vessel, himself acting as steersman, and transports, in accordance with his written statement, to the most

distinguished city of Alexandria or to any other place to which he may be instructed to go such cargoes of public crops as he may take on board and shall deliver them to the sailing-masters and shall produce their letters of consignment dated in the sixth happy new indiction, so that no blame attach to me in his regard, and shall, whenever you so choose, deliver up his vessel together with its equipment, apart from an act of God. Failing this, I, his security, am necessarily responsible for everything that may be made the subject of inquiry against him, or may I be liable to the divine oath.'

'I, Aurelius Zeuxis, son of Sarapion, have sworn the divine oath as security for Horoptoleeis, as stated above, and in answer to the formal question have given my consent. I, Aurelius Apion son of Eupothius, have written on his behalf as he is illiterate. . . . by me Harpalus.'

1 *λογιστῇ* is not a possible reading. For a plurality of curators see possibly P. Ant. i 34, and P. Ryl. iv 702, 4. As Mr. B. R. Rees has pointed out to me, it would seem that in Egypt the office of curator, although appointments to it were subject to imperial approval, became rapidly assimilated to the municipal *ἀρχαί* to the extent that the principle of collegiality was adopted. At what date this took place is uncertain; it is doubtful whether P. Ant. 34 can be cited as evidence since I should now accept Sir Harold Bell's view that *κατὰ πόλιν* in that text means not *in the city* but *in each city* (of several); cf. W. *Chr.* 469, 2 and the analogy of such expressions as *κατὰ κώμην*, &c.

4 For the sense of *ἐμπιστεύω*, *give assurances* (which the context demands), I know of no parallels.

5 *φικοπήδαλον*: this new instance, in addition to the two sixth-century instances, does nothing to clear up the meaning of this word, as it occurs in a similar context. Every new instance, however, makes a connexion with *φῦκος* more unlikely.

6 l. *κυβέρνησιν*.

8 A written statement of the kind referred to is **87** where a skipper makes an affidavit to the curator that he will proceed to Alexandria. l. *ἐπί*.

9 The skippers in question here will be the *navicularii marini*. In **1259**, 22 *ναυκληροῦσι* should perhaps be restored in place of *ἀσχολουμένοις*.

10–11 The purpose and justification of this clause (beginning with *ὁπόταν*) are obscure to me; the subject of *αἱρῇ* is presumably the curator (singular by mistake for plural). l. *ὑποδέξηται*.

17 Perhaps *ἐκ(ομίσθη)*.

2348. Greek Version of Roman Will

31·5×28·7 cm. A.D. 224.

The text of this papyrus together with a detailed juristic commentary was published[1] by Dr. M. Amelotti under the title 'Un Nuovo Testamento per Aes et Libram' in *Studia et Documenta Historiae et Juris* xv (1947), pp. 34 seq.; in the following introductory remarks I am indebted to his study, to which the reader is referred for a full treatment of the legal aspect.

This document is not the will itself, but a record of the opening of the will (which includes the text of the will), as is, for example, the text published by Jouguet–Guéraud in *Ét. de Pap.* vi (1940), 1 seq. (*Fontes Iuris AnteIust.* iii, no. 47), B.G.U. 1695, B.G.U. 326 (Mitteis, *Chr.* 316, *Sel. Pap.* i 85).[2] The original wills of Roman citizens were of course drawn up in Latin, but with one exception the records of the openings

[1] As explained on p. 34, n. 1 of his article a transcript of **2348** reached Dr. Amelotti in circumstances that suggested it was available for publication, and his article was ready for publication before the Society was aware that any transcript was in circulation. It was decided to allow Dr. Amelotti to proceed with his publication; this has had the advantage that I have been able to draw on his able and interesting article here.

[2] For full references see Amelotti's article, particularly p. 35.

of wills found in Egypt are in Greek[1]; other considerations apart, the language of the will itself shows that **2348** is a translation from Latin. The present document is of particular interest because it is nearer in time than any other surviving text to the *Constitutio Antoniniana*; the testator is clearly one of the new citizens created by the *Constitutio*, and the fact that he drew it up in Latin, not in Greek, shows that it antedates the constitution of Alexander Severus which permitted Roman citizens (at least those resident in Egypt) to draw up their wills in Greek, for the testator would clearly have availed himself of the option had it existed. Wills of Roman citizens subsequent to this constitution are much less close to the Latin type and evince greater influence of local law than does **2348**. The fact that a Greek-speaking testator draws up his will *per aes et libram* may be held to support the view of the *Constitutio* propounded by Mitteis that the new citizens created by it were automatically obliged to adopt Roman Law, as against that first advanced by Schönbauer that the *Constitutio* created a double citizenship whereby native laws continued to be recognized side by side with Roman.

The text published below differs in a few respects from the transcript on which Dr. Amelotti worked, which could not be checked against the original before his publication; the few changes of any consequence (and none materially affect his interpretation) are noted in the commentary.

Col. i

].τ̣ε̣[....]ε̣[.....]
]μ[...].κ̣λ̣[.....]ε̣χ̣.
] ἐμου κ̣[.....]αι ε̣ς̣.[.]
κλ]ηρονο̣μ̣[ίᾳ μου] ὁ̣πόταν
5 ἐ]μο̣ῦ κ̣λ̣η̣[ρονόμο]υς εἶναι
]χειν ταῦ[τὰ π]άντα τὰ
]τε τῇ π[ίστει] αὐτῶν παρα-
]μιμ[...]η μεγίστας
]δ.κ̣α̣τ̣.[...]νους ἐκ τοῦ
10]ν̣ τειμῇ̣[ς χ]άριν σειτι-
]τοῖς μ[...].ι ὑδρευ-
κ]ωμην̣[.....]φιν ἀρου-
]δ̣ε̣κ.[....]ξ̣εταστον
]ων μου

[1] Amelotti suggests that the official text of such proceedings was always in Latin (cf. P. Berol. 7124, published in *CR. Acad. Inscr.* 1914, pp. 524 seq.), copies in Greek being issued to the interested parties.

15] γάρ τι τῶν
]ε αὐτίκα
]ναι τῷ
ἐὰ]ν δὲ ὀφεί-
]. ἀποδιδο-
20]. Ἡρακλείδου
ἑ]πὶ τὰ αὐτὰ
]. ἐπικεκλη-
ἑ]δαφῶν
]ους κληρου-
25 μ]έρους ὅ ἐστιν
ἀμπ]ελώνων
]. ει τῶν ὑδρευ-
] οἱ αὐτοὶ κλη-
ἐὰν ἀνθ]ρωπινόν τι
30] τοῦτο μέρος
τοῦ σώ]ματός μου

Col. ii

[τὴ]ν φρ[ο]ντίδα ἐντέλλομαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς υἱοῖς μου καὶ τὸ σωμάτ[ι]όν μου
κα[τ]αταφῆναι θέλω ἐν ᾧ ἡτοίμασα ὀρύγματι πρὸς τῷ μνημείῳ τῆς προτε-
[ταγμέ]νης μακαρείτιδός μου γυναικὸς Ἡρακλείας. Εἰς δὲ τὴν περιστολὴν
35 βούλομαι ἐξ ἴσου δοῦναι τοὺς υἱούς μου δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας σὺν ἀνοι-
κοδομῇ τύμβου ἐπακολουθούντων τῆς τε προτεταγμένης συμβίου
μου Τασεῦτος καὶ Αὐρηλίων Ἀπίωνος τοῦ καὶ Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ προτεταγμένου
καὶ Πτολλίωνος φίλου μου. Εἰ δέ τις ὑπενάντιος τῆς βουλήσεως τῆς
διαθήκης μου πράξῃ τῶν κληρονόμων μου, δώσει εἰς τὸ ταμεῖον τοῦ
40 κυρίου ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτορος δραχμὰς τρισχιλίας. Εἴ τι ἐὰν μετὰ ταῦτα
οἱῳδήποτε τρόπῳ ἀσφαλίσωμαι τοῦτο ἰσχύειν θέλω. Οἰκετείαν χρήματά τε
τῆς διαθήκης γεινομένης ἐπρίατο Αὐρήλιος Σαραπίων σηστερτ(ίῳ) ν(ούμμῳ) ἑνί,
ἐπέγ(νω)
ζυ[γ]οστατοῦντος Αὐρηλίου Θέωνος. Ἀντ[ε]μαρτύρατο Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον
Τρ[ύ]φωνα. Ἡ διαθήκη ἐγένετο ἐν Ὀξυρυγχῶν πόλει τῇ πρὸ ιβ̄ καλανδῶν
45 Α[ὐγ]ούστων Κλαυδίῳ Ἰουλιανῷ τὸ β̄ καὶ Βρου[τ]τίῳ Κρεσπείνῳ ὑπάτοις
ἔτους τρίτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκ[ου] Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου

Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Ἐπεὶφ κ̄[ζ̄]. Ἀντίγραφον ὑπογραφῆς· Αὐρήλιος
Χα[ιρ]ήμων Ἡρακλείδου διεθέμην ἐπὶ {π} τοῖς προκειμένοις. Ὁμοίως ἑτέρας
ὑπογραφῆς τῆς ἐν τῷ ἑλληνικῷ ἀντιγράφῳ· Α[ὐ]ρήλιος Χαιρήμων Ἡρακλείδου
50 ἀνέγνων τὸ προκείμενον ἑλληνικὸν ἀντίγραφον τῆς διαθήκης μου
καὶ συμφωνεῖ μοι πάντα καθὼς ἐγὼ ὑπηγόρευσα. Ἠνύγη καὶ ἀνεγνώσθη
ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει πάροντος Αὐρηλίου Ἀρποκρατίωνος στρατηγοῦ πρὸς τῷ
λογιστηρίῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ πλείονος μέρους τῶν σφραγιστῶν οἳ καὶ ἐπέγνω-
σαν καὶ ἐπεσφράγισαν τῇ πρὸ μιᾶς εἰδῶν Ὀκτωβρίων τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὑπάτοις
55 ἔτους τετάρτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου
Ἀλεξάνδρου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ Θὼθ ιε̄. Οἱ λοιποὶ σφραγισταὶ
Αὐρήλιος Σαρᾶς Αὐρήλιος Ἥρων ἐπέγνωσαν Αὐρήλιος Διογένης
Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Σαραπόδωρος.

11 ὕδρευ and 27 35 ἴσου, υἕους 38 ὕπεν. 41 ἴσχυειν 45 ὑπατ. and 54 49 ὑπογρ. 51 l. ἠνοίγη

Ll. 31 seq. '. . . I lay upon the aforesaid sons the charge of caring for my body and I wish my body to be buried in the grave which I have prepared near the tomb of my aforesaid deceased wife Heracleia. I wish my sons to give in equal proportions five hundred drachmae towards the cost of my funeral dress together with the erection of a tomb, this to be supervised by my aforesaid companion Taseus and the aforesaid Aurelius Apion also known as Ammonius and my friend Aurelius Ptollio. If any of my heirs acts contrary to the intention of this my will, he shall pay to the Treasury of our lord the Emperor three thousand drachmae. If hereafter I make any provision in any manner whatsoever, I wish it to be valid. On the making of this will Aurelius Sarapion bought the household and chattels for one sestertius (acknowledged), Aurelius Theon being scale-holder and Tiberius Claudius Tryphon being called to witness. The will was made in the city of Oxyrhynchus on the 12th day before the Kalends of August when Claudius Iulianus (for the second time) and Bruttius Crespinus were consuls, in the third year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix, Epeiph 27. Copy of declaration: I, Aurelius Chaeremon, son of Heracleides have made my will as stated above. Likewise of another declaration made in the Greek copy: I, Aurelius Chairemon, son of Heracleides, have read the aforesaid Greek copy of my will and I agree with it all, just as I dictated it. Opened and read in the same city in the presence of Aurelius Harpocration, strategus, in his office, and of the majority of the sealers who have acknowledged and given their seal, the day before the Ides of October in the same consulate, in the fourth year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus, Thoth 15. The remaining sealers: Aurelius Saras, Aurelius Heron (both acknowledged), Aurelius Diogenes, Marcus Aurelius Sarapodorus.'

4–8 Amelotti compares P. Princeton ii 38 and gives the following supplements: *προσερχέσθωσαν τῇ κλ]ηρονομ[ίᾳ μου] ὁπόταν* [6] *[γνῶσι καὶ δύνωνται μαρτύρασθαι ἑαυτοὺς ἐ]μοῦ κλη[ρονόμο]υς εἶναι·* [6] *[οἱ κληρονόμοι μου ὑπεύθυνοι ἔστωσαν παρέ]χειν ταῦ[τα π]άντα τὰ* [7] *[ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ διαθήκῃ μου γεγραμμένα, τοῦτό] τε τῇ π[ίστει] αὐτῶν παρα-* [8] *[κατατίθεμαι.*

12 e.g. [Σερῦ]φιν.

13 Perhaps ἀνε]ξέταστον. A.'s text read]ετας τον.

18–19 ἐὰ]ν δὲ ὀφεί[λων χρέα φανῶ? A.

27]. ει τι υδρευ- A.

30]τουτο μ... A.

32 αὐτοῖς omitted in A.'s transcript.

36 A. comments that *Τασεῦς*, here called *σύμβιος*, was almost certainly not the testator's legal wife and contrasts the use of *γυνή* of the deceased Heracleia in l. 34; he translates *amica*.

38–39 A. translates *siquis autem testamenti mei voluntati adversus contra heredes meos egerit* which I cannot reconcile with the Greek.

41 The use of *ἀσφαλίζεσθαι* in this sense appears to be new.

52 Aurelius Harpocration is known as *strategus* for the years 219–221. As he was replaced by November of 221, the tenure of office recorded here must have been his second (see H. Henne, *Stratèges*).

54–56 A. points out that the Latin date (14 October) does not agree with the Egyptian (12 September), but that they can be reconciled if *Σεπτεμβρίων* is substituted for *Ὀκτωβρίων*.

(*b*) PRIVATE

2349. Receipt for Settlement of Rent through a Representative, with Attached Documents

36×25·4 cm. A.D. 70.

Caius Julius Satornilus (Saturninus), an Alexandrian citizen who has acquired Roman citizenship by enrolment in Legio XXII, issues (ll. 1–16) to Heracleides son of Apion of Oxyrhynchus a receipt for full settlement of rent for land the latter has farmed and now relinquished; as he was on active service (detachments of this legion were fighting in Judaea), he acts through a *procurator*, his freedman, but has himself as a Roman citizen (see Mitteis, *GZ.*, p. 262) to appear formally as the contracting party.[1] To this receipt he attaches a copy of the decision of the court of chrematistae (ll. 18–26) validating his nomination of his freedman as his *procurator* together with the notification of this decision by the archidikastes to the agoranomus of Oxyrhynchus (ll. 16–19). Finally, there was attached (ll. 26–45) the copy of the petition addressed to the Prefect on the basis of which the decision of the court was made; here unfortunately the papyrus is seriously damaged, and it is not clear why the petitioner goes into such detail about the history of the land which had been mortgaged, at least in part, to Herodes son of Apion and which is the subject of the receipt; but it would appear that his *procurator* who had previously served in the same capacity (l. 29) had been found to have been improperly appointed (l. 43).

In spite of the *συγχωρεῖ* of l. 12 the form of the receipt is not that of the *synchoresis*; the typical formula of the latter ('to *x* from *y* and *z*') is absent,[2] and the document starts (l. 2) as a normal objective *homologia*. The petition may possibly have been delegated to the archidikastes for settlement because one at least of the parties was a Roman citizen (cf. P. Fouad 44, introd., **727**, and P. Berol. Leihgabe 10; the formal resemblances in this last text to **2349** are close and the editor points out that though one of the contracting parties is a Roman he prefers not to avail himself of the *jus*

[1] On *σύστασις* in general see E. Rabel in *Archives d'Histoire du droit oriental* i 213 seq.; on the procurator in Roman Law see F. Schulz, *Classical Roman Law*, p. 431.

[2] See most recently H. Lewald in *Studi in Onore di Vincenzo Arangio-Ruiz* iii 431, publishing P. Rainer Inv. 25817; on the basis of the photograph there given it may be noted in passing that in l. 4 we should read δι(ὰ) τοῦ [ἐπι]τε[λο]ῦν[τος] τὴν κτλ.

civile). But the petitioner had only very recently acquired his Roman citizenship and it is perhaps worth noting that the archidikastes, an official whose functions and position in the Roman period need investigation (cf. l. 26 note), had a special competence in the affairs of Alexandrian citizens (cf. Mitteis, *GZ.*, p. 28).

Ἔτους τρίτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ μηνὸς Σεβαστοῦ
ἐν Ὀξυρύγχων πόλει τῆς Θηβαΐδος.
Ὁμολογεῖ Γάιος Ἰούλιος Σατορνεῖλος στρατιώτης λεγεῶνος δευτέρας καὶ εἰκοστῆς
κεντέρας Βίου Σεουήρου ὡς (ἐτῶν) εἰκόσι ὀκτὼ μέσος μελίχρος μακροπρόσωπος
εὐθύριν οὐλὴ ῥινὶ μέσῃ ὢν τῇ στρατείᾳ διὰ τοῦ συνεσταμένου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τόνδε
τελειώμενον καὶ ἀναπεπεμμένον ἐπὶ τοὺς {τόπου} τόπους
ἐκ τοῦ καταλογείου ἀπὸ διαλογῆς χρηματισμὸν οὗ χρόνος ἔτους δευτέρου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ μηνὸς Καισαρείου
5 *τρίτῃ οὗ καὶ ἀντίγραφον ὑπόκειται ἀπηλευθερωμέν[ο]ν ὑπ' [αὐ]τοῦ πρὸ τῆς στρατείας τότε χρηματίζοντος Πτολεμαῖος Πτολεμαίου Φυλαξιθαλάσσιο's'*
ὁ καὶ Ἀλθεαιοὺς Διονυσίου τοῦ καὶ Θεοπόμπο[υ] Ἡρακλείδῃ Ἀπίωνος τοῦ Ἡρώδου
τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως ἐν ἀγυιᾷ ἐπεὶ δι' ἧς πεποίηται
ὁ Ἡρακλείδης ἐκστάσεως ὧν εἶχεν τοῦ Γαίου Ἰουλίου Σατορνείλου κατὰ παραχώρησιν ἀρουρῶν εἰκόσι τεσσάρων ἡμίσους οὐσῶν ἀπὸ κοινῶν
κωμεδαφῶν περὶ Σενοκῶμιν τῆς πρὸς λίβα τοπαρχίας ἐστάθη ὥστε τὰ τῶν αὐτῶν
ἀρουρῶν εἰκόσι τεσσάρων ἡμίσους ἐκφόρια τοῦ διελθόντος
ἔτους εἶναι [τ]οῦ Γαίου Ἰουλίου Σατορνείλου ἀποδε[δ]ωτων ⟨ὧν⟩ διέγραψεν καὶ
μεμέτρηκεν [δ] Ἡρακλείδης εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀρουρῶν σιτι-
10 *κὰ καὶ ἀργυρικὰ δημόσια διὸ αὐτόθεν τοῦ Διονυσίου τοῦ καὶ Θεοπόμπου ἀπεσχηκότος εἰς τὸν τοῦ πάτρωνος λόγον κατὰ τὸν δηλούμενον*
χρηματισμὸν παρὰ τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου 'τὰς' μετὰ 'τὰ' προκείμενα δημόσια λοιπὰς
ὀφειλομένας ἐκφορίων τῶν αὐτῶν ἀρουρῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους
πυροῦ ἀρτάβας πε[ντ]ήκοντα δύο συγχωρεῖ ὁ Γάιος Ἰούλιος Σατορνεῖλος μήτ' αὐτὸν μηδ' ἄλλον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐνκαλεῖν μηδ' ἐνκαλέσειν
μηδ' ἐπελεύσεσθαι τῷ Ἡρακλείδῃ μηδ' ἐπιέναι αὐτοῦ μήτε περὶ τῶν εἰς τὰ προκείμενα τεινόντων μηδὲ περὶ ἄλλου μηδενὸς ἁπλῶς
μέχρι τῆς ἐνεστώσης ἡμέρας παρευρέσει μηδεμιᾷ ἢ χωρὶς τοῦ τὴν ἐφορμένην ἔφοδον ἄκοιρον εἶναι ἔτι καὶ ἐκτίνειν Γάιον Ἰούλιον

15 Σατορνεῖλον ἢ τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐπελευσόμενον τῷ Ἡρακλείδῃ ἢ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ καθ' ἑκάστην ἔφοδον τό τε βλάβος καὶ ἐπίτειμον ἅρμοζ(ον)
δραχμὰς τριακοσίας καὶ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τὰς ἴσας καὶ μηθὲν ἧσσον κυρία ἡ συν-
γραφή. Ἀθηνόδωρος ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ ἀρχιδι[[κ]]-
καστὴς τῷ τοῦ Ὀξυρυγχειτοῦ ἀγορανόμῳ ὄντι [[ι]]δὲ καὶ μνήμονι χαίρειν· τῆς
γεγενημένης ὑπογραφῆς ἐπὶ τῆς διαλογῆς τῶν ἐντεύξεω[ν]
ἀντίγραφον ὑπόκειται προσυποτέτακται δὲ καὶ ἡ δι' αὐτῆς δηλουμένη ἔντευξις·
γεγράφαμεν οὗ⟨ν⟩ σοι [[.]]⟨ῖ⟩ν' εἰδῇς· ἔρρωσο. ἔτους δευτέρ[ο]ν
Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ μηνὸς Καισαρείου τρίτῃ.
Ἔτους δευτέρου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ
20 Σεβαστοῦ μηνὸς Καισαρείου γ̄ χρηματισταὶ Ἀπολλώνιος Δημητρίου Φιλομητόριος
Ἀλέξανδρος Ζωίλου Ἀλθεαιοὺς Εὐφράνωρ
Εὐφράνορος Ἀλθεαιοὺς οἱ τὰς συντεύξεις διαλέξαντες ἀναγνωσθείσ⟨ης⟩ τῆς ἐντεύ-
ξεως Γαίου [Ἰ]ουλίου Σατορνείλου δι' ⟨ἧ⟩ς συνειστᾶ
τὸν ἀπελεύθερον αὐτοῦ Διονύσιον τὸν καὶ Θεόπομπον περὶ ὧν ἐδήλου ἐπὶ τοῖς κατὰ
τὴν σύστασιν σεσημαμμένοις
συνιστερόμενος Διονύσιος ὁ καὶ Θεόπομπος παρὼν εὐδοκεῖ τούτοις λαβόντες αὐτῶν
ὑπογραφὰς καὶ εἰκόνας συνεκρείναμεν ἔ-
χειν τὴς σύστασιν ἐν χρηματισμῷ καὶ ὑπο[γ]ραφῆναι τῷ {τε} τοῦ Ὀξυρυγχειτοῦ καὶ
Ὀάσεως ἀγορανόμους οὖσι δὲ καὶ μνήμοσι συν-
25 χρηματίζειν τῷ Διονυσίῳ τῷ καὶ Θεοπόμπῳ περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν σύστασιν καθὰ καὶ
τῷ συνεστακότι Γαίῳ Ἰουλίῳ Σατορνείλῳ παρόντι
ἐξῆν ὃν τρόπον καθήκει· δεῖ ἴσα [μεταδ]ο̣θ̣(ῆναι). Δημητρίου τοῦ Φίλωνος Καισα-
ρείου τοῦ καὶ Ζηνείου [[λυκ]] Λουκίῳ Πεδουκαίῳ Κολώνῳ
Γάιος Ἰούλιος Σατορνεῖλος στρατιώτης λεγεῶνος δευτέρας καὶ εἰκοστῆς κεντέρας
Βίου Σεουήρου οὐ δυνάμενος τὸν εἰς τὴν χώραν
ἀνάπλουν ποιήσασθαι διὰ τὸ ἐν ρ̣τρα[τείᾳ εἶναι συ]νίστημι τὸν ἠλευθερωμένον ὑπ'
ἐμοῦ πρὶν τῆς στρατείας τότε χρηματίσδων
Πτολεμαῖος Πτολεμαίου Φυλαξιθαλάσσ[ιος ὁ κα]ὶ Ἀλθεαιοὺς [κ]αὶ π̣ροσ̣υ̣ν̣εσταμένον τ̣ᾳ̣ρ' ἐ[μο]ῦ̣ Διονύσιον τὸν καὶ Θεόπομπ[ον]
30 ἐξ̣ω̣κονομήσαντα ἐ̣κ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ατον̣τ̣.[....]κατος καὶ τ[.....]ν μου τοῖς προ-
σελευσομένοις τῷ ἀγορασμῷ τὰς ὑπαρ-
χο̣ύσας μ̣ο̣υ περὶ Σενοκῶμιν τ̣ο̣ῦ̣ Ὀξυρυγχειτοῦ νομοῦ ἐκ του.[.....]τ̣ου καὶ
Πολέμωνος κλήρων ἀπ̣ὸ ἀρουρῶν τεσσαράκο[ντα]

ἐννέα κο̣[ινῶ]ν καὶ ἀδιαιρ[έτω]ν ἀρούρας ε[ἰκόσι τ]έσσαρα⟨ς⟩ ἥμισ[υ κ]αὶ οὔσας ἐν
ὑποθήκῃ παρ' Ἡρώδῃ Ἀπίωνος τῆς ε̣ὑρισκούσης
...σ̣.ης [β]εβαιώσεως ἐξ̣ω̣κ[ο]λ̣ο̣υ̣θ̣ούσ̣ης α̣[ὐτῷ ...]α̣ντος καὶ αγε[.].τ̣..[...]τ̣ης
πεσου[μ]ένης τούτων τειμῆς τῷ Ἡρ̣ώδ̣ῃ τῷ ἐπ' αὐ-
..ς προσ̣.[.].[..].[.]μμονο̣.[.]λ̣..[.]..σ̣θ̣αι κ̣εφαλαι[.....].σ̣τ̣εμους μ[ε̣]θ' ὧν
[..]δ[...]α̣ι̣[.].α τῷ Ἡρώδῃ ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἔχο̣ν̣τα τ̣ὴν ολ̣α̣[....]ν ἐξ οὗ ἐὰν
35 δ̣ι̣α̣μισθοῦν τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μοι ἐ̣ν̣ τ̣ῷ αὐτῷ .[..... οἰκ]ό̣πεδα κ̣α̣θ̣[ὰ .....]
ἀπαιτήσοντα οὐδὲ ὀ̣φείλοντ[α .....] τ̣ῷ αὐτῷ
Ὀξυρ̣υ̣γχε̣[ιτ]ῇ̣ νομῷ καὶ Αὐά[σει.....]α̣τε̣.η̣σ̣με.[.....π]ο̣ιή-
σω̣ν [ν]ενομ̣μ̣σμένω̣ς .ω τότε μ[.....]
τ[ο]ῖ̣ς εὐδωσιδικοῦσι τὰς .. ἀτελε̣ῖ̣ς [c. 25 ll.].α̣τοι̣ς τε ο̣[c. 15 ll.].ε̣φ̣ω̣τα ἐκ πάν-
τ̣ω̣ν ..[c. 15 ll.]
.τησει μοι σὺν καὶ τῷ περιπ̣ο̣ι̣ηθησομένῳ [c. 21 ll.].ε̣τ̣ο̣υ̣ς π̣ρ̣ε̣[c. 15 ll. τ]ῶν ἀρου-
[ρ]ῶν καὶ.α̣[
.[.].απ̣ε̣λ[....]θερα..ο.αρσ̣ε̣ικλειδα θ̣ηλ[c. 21 ll.]οικια...[.....]μ̣ω̣[.].[....
...].ι βυβ[
40 τούτων υ[...] π̣[ρό]τ̣ε̣ρον ε̣ν̣τ̣.. περὶ ἁπάντων [c. 22 ll.] τ̣ὸν Δ̣ι̣ο̣ν̣ύ̣[σιον τὸν καὶ
Θεό]πομπ̣[ον
πᾶσ̣ι̣ καὶ ἐκπ̣ε̣π̣[ε]ῖ̣σθαι τ̣ὴν ἑ̣αυτοῦ ε̣[c. 19 ll.]ς̣ τοσουτ̣[.....]τ̣ε̣ρα̣π̣[...]μοι
ε[....].[....]ε̣τ̣ρ̣[
πρόσθεν χρόνοις περὶ συστάσεως ἑ̣τ̣ε̣ρ̣[c. 20 ll.].ιτοσε[.]βικα[.....]α̣ντεμ̣ε̣
[c. 15 ll.] ε̣μ̣ο̣[
ἕνεκα τοῦ μὴ δεόντως αὐτὸν συνεστάσ̣[θαι ..16 ll.]ς̣ διαλ[ο]γῆς .[.....]μω
[c. 15 ll.]μ̣υ̣ο̣[
[τ]ὴν σύστασιν ἐν χρηματισμῷ καὶ γράψ̣ε̣ δέ[ομαι τῷ τοῦ Ὀξυρυγχιτοῦ κ]α̣ὶ
Ὀάσε̣ως [ἀγορανόμ]ῳ μοι σω[ματίζειν .....].ε[Διονυ-]
45 [σίῳ] τῷ καὶ Θεοπόμπῳ περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν [σύστασιν .....]θαι καὶ ἐμοὶ
τ[.....συ]νευδοκε̣[

2 l. κεντουρίας and in 27 5 l. χρηματίζων 6 l. Ἀλθαιεύς and in 20, 21, 29 13 l. αὐτῷ
14 l. ἄκυρον 21 l. τὰς ἐντεύξεις 22 l. σεσημασμένοις 23 l. συνιστορούμενος 24 l. τὴν, τοῖς, ἀγορανόμοις 28. l. χρηματίζων 36 l. Ὀάσει 44 l. γράψαι

'The third year of the Emperor Caesar Vespasianus Augustus, in the month Sebastus, in the city of Oxyrhynchus in the Thebaid.

Agreement between Caius Julius Satornilus, soldier of the twenty-second legion, of the century of Bius Severus, aged twenty-eight, of middle height, olive-complexioned, long-faced, straight-nosed, with a scar on the middle of his nose, being on active service and acting through Dionysius also known as Theopompus, the representative appointed by him in accordance with this deed completed and dispatched after scrutiny by the Registry to the local authorities, dated on the third day

of the month Caesareius in the second year of the Emperor Caesar Vespasianus Augustus, a copy of which is subjoined, which representative was emancipated by him before his period of service when he was styled Ptolemy son of Ptolemy of the Phylaxithalassian tribe and the Althean deme, and Heracleides son of Apion son of Herodes of the city of Oxyrhynchus in the street as follows: seeing that through the deed of surrender made by the said Heracleides of the property of Caius Julius Satornilus which he held by deed of cession, to wit twenty-four and a half arouras belonging to the common village lands near Senokomis in the southern toparchy, it was agreed that the rent for the said twenty-four and a half arouras should belong to Caius Julius Satornilus, there being deducted such payments whether in money or kind as Heracleides has made to the State in respect of the taxes in corn or silver on the said arouras, therefore, inasmuch as Dionysius also known as Theopompus has received forthwith on his patron's account in accordance with the said deed from Heracleides fifty-two artabas of wheat being the remainder of the rent for the said arouras for the said year after deduction of the above-mentioned taxes, Caius Julius Satornilus agrees that neither he nor anyone else on his behalf is accusing or will accuse Heracleides or is proceeding or will proceed against him neither in respect of matters relating to the above transaction nor in respect of anything else whatsoever unto this present day on any pretext whatsoever and that otherwise not only shall any such proceedings be invalid but in addition Caius Julius Satornilus or whoever is proceeding on his behalf shall pay to Heracleides or his representative in respect of each action both the damages and as an appropriate fine the sum of three hundred drachmas, also the same amount and not less to the Treasury. The contract is valid.

Athenodorus, priest and archidikastes, to the notary who is also the recorder of the Oxyrhynchite nome, greeting. A copy is subjoined of the decision of the court made at the scrutiny of petitions. There is also subjoined a copy of the petition referred to in the decision. The second year of the Emperor Caesar Vespasianus Augustus, the third of the month Caesareus.

The second year of the Emperor Caesar Vespasianus Augustus, Caesareus 3. Chrematistae: Apollonius son of Demetrius of the Philometorean deme, Alexander son of Zoilus of the Althean deme, Euphranor son of Euphranor of the Althean deme, being commissioners for the scrutiny of petitions. The petition of Caius Julius Satornilus in which he requested the appointment as his agent of his freedman Dionysius who is also Theopompus for the purposes declared in the aforementioned documents relating to the power of attorney was read and Dionysius who is also Theopompus being present and being a party to the proceedings gave his consent thereto: we therefore took their signatures and personal descriptions and gave judgement that the deed of attorney be registered and that written instructions be sent to the notaries who are also recorders of the Oxyrhynchite nome and Oasis to deal with Dionysius who is also Theopompus in respect of the matters specified in the deed of attorney precisely as it was lawful for them to deal with the issuer of the power of attorney, to wit Caius Julius Satornilus being present. Copies to be issued in the proper way. (? Signed by) Demetrius son of Philon of the tribe Caesareus and the deme Zeneius.

To Lucius Peducaeus Colonus. I, Caius Julius Satornilus, soldier of the twenty-second legion of the century of Bius Severus, being unable because I am on active service to make the voyage up country, appoint as my representative Dionysius who is also Theopompus who was emancipated by me before my service when I was styled Ptolemy son of Ptolemy of the Phylaxithalassian tribe and the Althean deme and who has been previously so appointed by me to administer . . . those interested in the sale . . . twenty-four and a half arouras near Senokomis in the Oxyrhynchite nome being my property out of the lots of . . . and Polemon from a total of forty-nine arouras held jointly and indivisibly, the said twenty-four and a half arouras being mortgaged to Herodes son of Apion . . . .'

2 *Βλου*: this name also occurs in a contemporary army list published by Wessely, *Schrifttafeln* 8.

7 The deed of sale provided that the rent for the preceding year was payable to Satornilus after deduction of the tax paid by Heracleides.

8 *κωμεδαφῶν*: *addendum lexicis*. The precise meaning of the word, indeed of the whole expression *ἀπὸ κοινῶν κ.*, is obscure to me.

12 *συγχωρεῖ* picks up the forgotten *ὁμολογεῖ* of l. 2.

17 For the phraseology here cf. P. Berol. Leihgabe 10 and P. Flor. 55, 4 seq. (as correctly read and supplemented by Kalén in P. Berol. Leihgabe 10).

23 *συνιστορεῖν* has not previously occurred in the middle in this sense.

24 It was known from **1118** that in the late first or early second century the Oasis was independent of the Oxyrhynchite nome (see Wilcken, P. Wurz., p. 57: P. Merton 26, 1 note); it is clear from **2349** that in A.D. 71 it was still administratively united with it. Later, in the third century, it was again attached to the Oxyrhynchite.

26–27 There can be little doubt that the Lucius Peducaeus Colonus here addressed was the Prefect of Egypt since (1) in all comparable documents the petition is addressed to the prefect and by him delegated to the archidikastes: e.g. P. Flor. 55 (A.D. 86/88), P. Berol. Leihgabe 10 (A.D. 120), Meyer, *Jur. Pap.* 48 (A.D. 130); (2) the office of archidikastes in the first two centuries of Roman rule was held by Roman citizens of Greek descent, generally by members of the Alexandrian aristocracy (cf. Dittenberger, *O.G.I.S.* 682 where in three generations of one of the leading Alexandrian families the office is passed from father to son); no complete list, let alone a study, of holders of the office is known to me, but cf. the remarks of Jouguet in *PRIMI*, p. 220, who lists the known archidikastae for the reign of Hadrian.

In Lucius Peducaeus we have a hitherto unrecorded prefect for the reign of Vespasian; his tenure of office would fall between those of C. Liternius Fronto and Ti. Julius Lupus (see A. Stein, *Die Präfekten von Ägypten*, p. 39; this reference was communicated to Stein, but I then read the final letter as a *μ*—hence the cognomen is given by him as Columella).

30 We should perhaps emend to *ἐξοικονομήσοντα*.

33 *κυρείας* is just possible, given the erratic hand of the scribe, but is hardly likely.

37 *εὐδωσιδικοῦσι*: cf. **2351**, 33 note.

39 *ἀπελεύθερος* or some form of it can only have stood here if there was a considerable erasure in the gap.

2350. Acknowledgement of Indebtedness

32·5 × 26·2 cm. A.D. 223/4.

Acknowledgement of indebtedness for rent in kind drawn up in duplicate by the same hand; the indebtedness is in respect of a tenure now expired so that the document is in fact a deed of loan. The two texts are identical, apart from two trifling variations; the first and better preserved of the two is alone transcribed. In a third column, of which only the lower part survives, the same hand has recorded an acknowledgement of a loan of four artabas of wheat made (no doubt by the same landowner) to the father of the tenant who is a party to the preceding document.

The rent is a little below the average for the period (cf. A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, p. 81); there is no obvious reason why interest is not charged on what is in fact a loan since the repayment is spread over three years. On the question of interest-free loans in the papyri and in particular on the alleged Jewish influence see V. Tcherikower in *Harvard Theological Review* xxxv (1942), pp. 28 seq. and the subsequent remarks by F. M. Heichelheim, ibid., pp. 38 seq.; there is no reason to suspect any Jewish influence in **2350**.

Col. i

.[
καὶ [. . . . . *γυμ*]*νασιαρ*[*χήσαντι ἐξ*]*ηγητῇ*
Ὀξ[*υ*]*ρύ*[*γχων πό*]*λεως* [*κ*]*αὶ ὡ*[*ς*] *χ*[*ρηματί*]*ζει χαί*(*ρειν*).
ὁμολογῶ [*ὀφεί*]*λειν σοι ἀπὸ λόγ*[*ου ἐκφορ*]*ίων* [*ὧ*]*ν*

5 ἐγεώργησ[ά σ]ου ἐδαφῶν περὶ Κ̣ε̣[ρκε]θῦ[ρ]ειν π̣υ-
ροῦ μὲν μέτρῳ σῷ πρὸς ἑκάστα̣ς τὰς [δ]έκα ⟨ἀρούρας⟩
ἀρτά[βας] τ[εσ]σαράκοντα δ̣ύο τέταρτον χ[οί]-
νεικας δύο καὶ λαχανο{υ}σπέρμου ὁμ[ο]ίως
μέτρῳ αἰλεουργικῷ Κερκεθύρεως ἀρ-
10 τάβας δύο ἥμισυ ἃς καὶ ἐπάναγκόν σοι
ἀποδώσω τὸν μὲν πυρὸν ἐν ἔτεσι τρε[ι]-
σεὶ τὸ δὲ λαχανόσπερμον ἐν ἔτεσει δυσεὶ τῷ μὲν
ἐνεστῶτει γ (ἔτει) πυροῦ μὲν ἀρτάβας δεκατέσσα-
ρας χοίνεικας τέσσαρας καὶ λαχανοσπέρμου
15 ἀρτάβην μίαν τέταρτον τῷ δὲ ἰσίοντει
δ (ἔτει) ὁμοίως πυροῦ ἀρτάβας δεκατέσσαρας
χοίνεικας τέσσαρας καὶ λαχανοσπέρμου
τὴν λοιπὴν ἀρτάβην μίαν τέταρτον καὶ
τῷ ε (ἔτει) ὁμοίως τὰς λοιπὰς τοῦ πυροῦ
20 ἀρτάβας δεκατέσσαρας χοίνεικας τέσσαρας
ἐπὶ δὲ πάντων χωρὶς διαφόρου· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ
ἀποδῶ ταῖς δηλουμέναις προθεσμίαις
τάξομαί σοι διάφορον ἡμόλιον γεινομέ-
νης σοι τῆς πράξεως παρά τε ἐμοῦ καὶ
25 ἐκ τῶν [ὑπ]αρχόντων μοι π̣αντοίων
πάντων· κύριον τὸ χειρόγραφ[ο]ν διοσσὸν
γραφὲν παν̣ταχῆ ἐπιφερόμενον καὶ παν-
τὶ τῷ ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἐπιφέροντι· περὶ δὲ τοῦ
ταῦτα ὀρθῶς καλῶς γείνεσθαι ἐπερω-
30 τηθεὶς ὑπὸ σοῦ ὡμολόγησα (ἔτους) γ
Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς
Σεβαστοῦ Φαμενὼθ η̄. Αὐρήλιος Πατᾶς
Παποντῶτος ὀφείλω τὰς τοῦ πυροῦ ἀρτά-
35 βας τεσσαράκοντα δύο τέταρτον χοίνοι-
{νοι}κας δύο καὶ λαχανοσπέρμου ἀρτάβας
δύο ἥμισυ καὶ ἀποδώσω ταῖς δηλου-
μέναις προθεσμίαις καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς
ὡμολόγησα· Αὐρήλιος Διογένης ὁ καὶ

40 Πείσων Καλλινείκου ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ
αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδότος γράμματα.

9 l. ἐλαιουργικῷ 15 ἴσιοντει (l. εἰσίοντι) P.

Col. iii
(Traces of 7 ll.)

. . . . . .
[ἐνε]σ̣τῶτο[ς] γ (ἔτους)[
[ ] πυρ[ὸ]ν νέον καθαρ[ὸν] ἄδολον
10 ἄβολον ἄκριθον κεκοσ[κ]ινευμέ-
ν̣[ο]ν [μ]ετρού-
μενον τῆς μετρήσεω[ς] ὑπὸ τῶν
σῶν γειν[ο]μένης· ἐὰν δ̣[ὲ μ]ὴ ἀποδῶ
καθὰ γ̣ε̣[γρ]α̣μμα̣[ι] τάξομαί σοι δι-
15 άφορον ἡμιόλιον γεινομ[έ]νης σοι
τῆς πράξεως παρά τε [ἐμο]ῦ καὶ ἐ-
κ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μο[ι παντο]ίων
πάντων· κύριον τὸ χειρό[γρ]α̣φ̣ον
[ἁ]πλοῦν γραφὲν πανταχῆ [ἐπι]φερό-
20 [με]νον καὶ παντὶ τῷ ὑπὲρ σ[οῦ ἐ]π̣ιφέ-
ροντι· περὶ δ[ὲ] τοῦ ταῦτ̣α̣ [ὀρ]θῶς
καλῶς γείνεσθαι ἐπερωτη[θεὶ]ς ὡ-
[μ]ολόγησα (ἔτους) γ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀλ̣ε̣ξ̣[ά]νδρου
25 Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ
Ἀθὺρ ιε· Αὐρήλιος Πα̣π̣ο̣ντῶς
Οὐηστίνου ἔσχον τὰς τ[οῦ] πυροῦ ἀρ-
τάβας τέσσαρας ἥμισυ καὶ ἀποδώ-
σω ὡς πρόκειται καὶ ἐπερ[ωτη]θεὶς
30 ὡ[μ]ο̣λόγησα· Αὐρήλιος Διογένης
ὁ καὶ Πείσων ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
μὴ εἰδότος γράμματα.

10 l. ἄβωλον

Col. i. 'to . . . former gymnasiarch, exegete of the city of Oxyrhynchus and however he may be styled, greeting. I acknowledge that I owe you on account of rent for your land which I farmed near Kerkethouris in respect of all the ten arouras forty-two and a quarter artabas two choinices of wheat

according to your measure and of vegetable seed equally two and a half artabas according to the oil-press measure of Kerkethouris; which I will perforce repay to you as follows: the wheat within three years, the vegetable seed within two years as follows: in the current third year, fourteen artabas four choinices of wheat and one and a quarter artabas of vegetable seed, in the coming fourth year equally fourteen artabas four choinices of wheat and the remaining 1¼ artabas of vegetable seed, and equally in the fifth year the remaining fourteen artabas four choinices of wheat, free of interest in each case. If I fail to repay at the appointed times I shall pay you interest at 50 per cent., you to have the right of execution on me and on all my belongings of whatever kind. This deed is valid, written in duplicate, wherever it may be produced and whoever produces it on your behalf. As to the correctness and fairness of these proceedings, I have been questioned by you and consented. Year 3 of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus, Phamenoth 8 (March 4). I, Aurelius Patas, son of Papontos, owe the forty-two and one-quarter artabas, two choinices of wheat and two and half artabas of vegetable seed and will repay them at the appointed time and when questioned I consented. I, Aurelius Diogenes, also known as Pison, son of Callinicus, have written on his behalf since he is illiterate.'

Col. iii, ll. 9 seq. '. . . wheat fresh clean unadulterated not mixed with earth or barley, sifted . . . to be measured by your agents. If I fail to repay as is set down in this bond I will pay you interest at 50 per cent., you retaining the right of execution on me and my possessions of any and every sort. This deed of which this is the sole copy is valid wherever it may be produced and whoever produces it on your behalf. As to the correctness and fairness of these proceedings I have been questioned and consented. Year 3 of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus, Athur 15. I, Aurelius Papontos, son of Vestinus, have received the four and a half artabas of wheat and will repay as aforesaid and on being asked the formal question I consented. I, Aurelius Diogenes, also known as Pison, have written on his behalf as he is illiterate.'

Col. i 2 Or *γυμνασιαρ[χ(ήσαντι) ἐναρχῷ κτλ.*

5 The second copy adds *κώμην* after *περί*.

6 I know of no other place in which *ἕκαστος* is used in a sense (*all together*) dead opposite to its proper meanings *each severally* or *one and all*.

21 For *διάφορον* = *interest* see N. Lewis, '*Συν ἡμιολίᾳ* in Loan Contracts', *TAPA* lxxvi (1945), p. 126, who observes (p. 128) that it is 'used only of interest in kind on loans in kind'.

38 The second copy adds *ὡς πρόκειται*.

2351. Lease of Private Land

11·4 × 39·3 cm. A.D. 112.

This is an unusually detailed and well-preserved lease which includes (as do, for example, **501** and **2188**) an agreement for the payment by the lessees of arrears of rent due under a previous lease, the lessor to remit one-third of the arrears provided the lessees do not default on their obligations. Another clause of interest is that whereby the lessees have the choice of paying rent for the area planted with chickling either in wheat or in money. There are traces of writing apart from the receipt on the verso, but they relate not to this document but to a strip used to strengthen the papyrus.

For a list of leases of agricultural land in the Oxyrhynchite nome (excluding vineyards, &c.) during the Roman period see P. Merton 17 introd.; to thosel isted there should now be added **2188, 2189,** P. Fouad 43, P. Reinach ii 99, P. Princeton iii 148, and P. Ryl. iv 683.

Ἐμίσθωσεν Φατρῆς Ἀρθοώνιος τοῦ Ἀρ-
θοώνιος τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως ἱερεῦς
Θοήριδος καὶ Ἴ[σ]ιδος καὶ Σαράπιδος καὶ τῶν συν-
νάων θεῶν μεγίστων Τοτοῇ τῷ καὶ Πλουταρ-
5 *χῷ καὶ Παχνούμει ἀμφοτέροις Παχνούμιος*
τοῦ Τοτοέως μητρὸς Θαήσιος καὶ Τοτοῇ
Παπίριος τοῦ Τοτοέως μητρὸς Ταχνούμιος
τοῖ⟨ς⟩ τρισι ἀπὸ κώμης Ταναίεως Πέρσαι⟨ς⟩ τῆς ἐπιγο-
νῆς εἰς ἔτη τέσσαρα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος
10 *ἑκκαιδεκάτου ἔτους Τραιανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ*
κυρίου ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ
ἀδελφιδῷ αὐτοῦ Ἀρθοώνει Πετεύριος
περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν Ταναΐν ἐκ τοῦ Νικαίου
κλήρου ἀρούρας εἰκόσι τέσσαρας ὥστε σπεῖ-
15 *ραι κατ' ἔτος τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ πυρῷ τὸ δὲ ἕτε-*
ρον ἥμισυ ξυλαμῆσαι ἄρακι ἐκφορίου
κατ' ἔτο[[υ]]ς τῆς μὲν πυρῷ ἀνὰ πυροῦ ἀρτάβας
ὀκτὼ ἥμισυ τῆς δὲ ἐν ἄρακι ἀνὰ πυροῦ
ἀρτάβας δύο ἢ ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς εἴκοσι
20 *τέσσαρας ἄρτων ἀρτάβης μιᾶς κατ' ἔτος*
παιδαρίοις ἀρτάβης ἥμισυ· Ὁμολογοῦσι δὲ
οἱ μεμισθωμένοι ἐσχηκέναι καὶ παρα-
μεμετρῆσθαι παρὰ τοῦ Φατρέως εἰς σπέρ-
ματα τῆς γῆς τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους ἀδια-
25 *φόρους ἀρτάβας δώδεκα καὶ προσομολο-*
γοῦσι οἱ αὐτοὶ μεμισθωμένοι ὀφίλειν τῷ
Φατρῆτι ἀπὸ λοιπογραφίας ἐκφορίων τῶν
αὐτῶν ἀρουρῶν πυροῦ ἀρτάβας ἐνενήκον-
τα δύο ἐξ ὧν δώσουσι οἱ μεμισθωμένοι
30 *ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ πρῶτα ἔτη τρία κατ' ἔτος πυροῦ*
ἀρτάβας εἴκοσι· τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς τῆς ὀφειλῆς
πυροῦ ἀρτάβας τριάκοντα δύο χαριεῖτε
αὐτοῖς ὁ Φα[τ]ρῆς ἐάνπερ εὐδωσιτικῶσι
οἱ μεμισθωμένοι ἐν τῇ ἀποδόσει τῶν
35 *προκειμένων ἐκφορίων καὶ σπερμάτων καὶ*

τῶν τῆς κ[α]τ' ἔτος ἐπὶ τὸν τριετῆ χρό-
νον ὀφειλῆ[ς] κατ' ἔτος ἀνὰ πυροῦ ἀρτάβας
εἴκοσι ἀκι[ν]δύνων παντὸς κινδύνου
τῶν τῆς γ[ῆ]ς δημοσίων ὄντων πρὸς τὸν
40 μεμισθω[κ]ότα τῶν δὲ καρπῶν κυριευ-
έτω ἕως ἄ[ν] τὰ ὀφειλόμενα αὐτῷ κατ' ἔ-
τος κομίσ[ητ]αι· τῆς δὲ μισθώσεως
βεβαιουμέ[ν]ης ἀποδ[ό]τωσαν οἱ μεμισθω-
μένοι τῷ Φατρῆτι τὰ κατ' ἔτος ὀφειλό-
45 μενα αὐτ[ίκ]α ἐν τῷ Παῦνι μηνὶ ἐφ' ἅλω
Ταναίεως [π]υρὸν νέον καθαρὸν ἄδολον
ἄκριθον κεκοσκινευμένον ὡς εἰς δη-
μόσιον μετρούμενον μέτρῳ τετάρτῳ
παραλημπ[τι]κῷ αὐτοῦ Φάτρεως ἑαυτῷ
50 μετροῦντ[ος] ἢ δι' οὗ ἐὰν αἵρηται· ἕξει δὲ ὁ
Φατρῆς το[ῦ] ἐγβησομένου κατ' ἔτος ἀχύ-
ρου τὸ ἥμ[ισ]υ ὃ δ' ἂν προσοφειλέσωσι ἀπο-
τεισάτω[σα]ν μεθ' ἡμιολίου καὶ ἡ πρᾶξις
ἔστω Φα[τ]ρῆ ἔκ τε τῶν μεμισθωμέ-
55 νων ὄντων ἀλληλεγγύων εἰς ἔκτεισιν
καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς πάντων
καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς καὶ ἐξ οὗ ἂν αὐτῶν αἵρηται·
ἐὰν δὲ ἀδωσιτικῶσι ἐν τῇ ἀποδόσι τῶν
προκειμένων ὡς ἐπάνω δεδήλωται ἔξον-
60 τος τῷ Φατρῇ ἐντὸς τοῦ χρόνου ἑτέροις
μεταμισθοῖν καὶ ἐκπράσσειν αὐτοὺς
τὰ ὅλα ὀφειλόμενα διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τούτοις
ἑστάσθαι· κυρία ἡ μίσθωσις οὖσά μου
τοῦ Τοτοέως τοῦ καὶ Πλουταρχοῦ χειροὶς
65 καὶ εὐδοκῶ καὶ συναποδώσω ἐξ ἀλληλεγ-
γύης ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς προκειμένοις· ἔτους
ἑκκαιδεκάτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
Νέρουα Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
Δακικοῦ Φαωφὶ δεκάτῃ. (2nd h.) Παχνοῦμις
70 Παχνούμιος τοῦ Τοτοέως μητρὸς Θαήσιος καὶ

Τοτοῆς Παπίριος τοῦ Τοτοέως μητρὸς Ταχ-
νούμιος ἀμφότεροι συνμεμισθώμεθα
ἐπὶ τὰ τέσσαρα ἔτη ἐκφορίου τῆς μὲν πυροῦ
ἀνὰ πυροῦ ἀρτάβας ὀκτὼ ἥμισυ τῆς δὲ ἀράκῳ ἀνὰ
75 πυροῦ ἀρτάβας δύο ἢ ἀργ(υρίου) (δρ.) εἴκοσι τέσσαρας καὶ συν-
έσχομεν τὰς τῶν σπερμ(άτων) πυροῦ ἀρτάβας δέ-
κα δύο καὶ ὀφείλομεν λοιπογρ(αφίαν) (πυροῦ) ἀρτάβας ἐνε-
νήκοντα δύο ἐξ ὧν συναποδώσομεν
ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τριετείᾳ κατ' ἔτος πυροῦ
80 ἀρτάβας εἴκοσι τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ἀρτάβας τριάκον-
τα δὲ χαρεῖτε ὁ Φατρῆς ἐπεὶ πᾶσει
τοῖς προκειμένοις οἷς καὶ εὐδοκοῦμεν· Θοῶνις
ὁ καὶ Ἄλκ.[..] Παπίρι[ο]ς ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μὴ εἰδ(ότων)
γράμμα[τα

Verso

85 (ἔτους) κ Τραιανοῦ Καίσαρος τ(οῦ) κ(υρίου) μη(νὸς)
Καισαρείου β
ἐγδέδωκα ἀποχὴν τῶι Τοτοῆ καὶ Παχνο(ῦμει)
τῶν ἐκφο(ρίων) ⟨καὶ⟩ λο(ιπογραφίας) φόρων μη(νὸς) Σεβ(αστοῦ)
περιδ.ηδ( ) (αὐτου) (ἔτους)

32 l. χαριεῖται and in 81 33 l. εὐδωσιδικῶσι 58 l. ἀδωσιδικῶσι 59 l. ἕξεσται
61 l. μεταμισθοῦν 64 l. χειρὶ.

'Phatres, son of Arthoönis, grandson of Oxyrhynchus, priest of Thoeris and Isis and Sarapis and the associated most mighty gods, has leased to Totoes, also known as Plutarchus, and Pachnoumis, both sons of Pachnoumis and Thaesis and grandsons of Totoes, and to Totoes, son of Papiris and Tachnoumis and grandson of Totoes, all three of the village of Tanais, Persians of the Epigone, twenty-four arouras out of the property belonging to him and his nephew Arthoönis son of Peteuris in the neighbourhood of the said Tanais and forming part of the lot of Nicaeus for four years from the current sixteenth year of Traianus Caesar the lord: they are to sow every year half with wheat and plant the other half with chickling at an annual rent of eight and a half artabas of wheat per aroura for the half sown with wheat and two artabas of wheat per aroura for the half planted with chickling or alternatively twenty-four silver drachmas, one artaba of bread per year, half an artaba to the slaves. The lessees agree that they have received and had measured to them by Phatres twelve artabas free of interest as seed-corn for the current year. The same lessees further acknowledge that they owe to Phatres by way of arrears of rent for the same arouras ninety-two artabas of wheat of which the lessees will pay twenty artabas of wheat per year for the first three years while Phatres shall remit the remaining thirty-two artabas of wheat they owe him provided the lessees give satisfaction in the payment of the aforesaid rent and seed-corn and also the twenty artabas per year for the space of three years in settlement of their debt clear of every risk. The taxes on the land are to be at the charge of the lessor. The crops are to be the property of the lessor until he has recovered the

amounts due to him each year. The lease being guaranteed, the lessees are to pay to Phatres what they owe him each year without delay in the month of Pauni on the threshing-floor of Tanais, viz. wheat fresh, clean, unadulterated, free of barley, sifted as though for the public granary, measured by the quarter measure used for payments of Phatres, the latter to measure for himself or whomsoever he shall choose to do the measuring. Phatres shall keep half of the annual crop of chaff. The lessees are to pay back any arrears increased by half, and Phatres shall have the right of execution on the lessees who mutually guarantee each other for repayment, on all their property, on one of them and on any one he may choose. If the lessees fail to give satisfaction in payment of the said amounts as set forth above, it shall be lawful for Phatres within the said period to relet the land to others and to exact from them the entire amount owing to him, these being the terms on which they have agreed. This lease is valid, being in the hand of me Totoes also known as Plutarchus; I give my assent and will jointly pay on all the aforesaid conditions on a basis of mutual security. The sixteenth year of the Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, the tenth of Phaophi (October 7).

(2nd h.) 'I, Pachnoumis, son of Pachnoumis and Thaesis, grandson of Totoes, and I, Totoes, son of Papiris and Tachnoumis, grandson of Totoes have together jointly leased ⟨the said land⟩ for four years at a rent of eight and a half artabas of wheat for that part of the land under wheat and a rent of two artabas of wheat for the part planted with chickling or alternatively twenty-four silver drachmas and we have jointly received the twelve artabas of wheat for seed corn and we owe in arrears ninety-two artabas of wheat whereof we will jointly pay every year of the first three years twenty artabas of wheat while Phatres will remit the remaining thirty⟨-two⟩ on all the aforesaid conditions to which we give our assent.

'I, Thoönis who is also Al...., son of Papiris have written on their behalf as they are illiterate.'

Verso

'The twentieth year of Traianus Caesar the lord, month Caesareus 2. I have issued a receipt to Totoes and Pachnoumis for the rent and arrears of rent, the month Sebastus ... same year.'

18 The rent is above the average for the period, cf. A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, p. 81.

19 The money equivalent for an artaba of wheat is also higher than the average, cf. A. C. Johnson, op. cit., p. 311.

21 For another instance of a 'consideration' being paid to slaves see **730**, 14. Eitrem (*Symb. Osl.* xvii 39 seq.) regards the παιδάρια as being the children of the lessor; the term may be a conventional one denoting all children of the household, all of whom might lend a hand at harvest.

24 ἀδιαφόρους: *free of interest*, cf. **1688**, 16. This meaning has escaped LSJ.

33 εὐδωσιδικέω: *addendum lexicis* (cf. **2349**, 37); ἀδωσιδικέω is known from P. Mich. v 242, 244, 245.

52 προσοφειλέσωσι: for the form cf. **101**, 42.

64 χειρόις: probably a confusion between χειρός and χειρί rather than a heteroclite plural.

87 The writing at the end of this line becomes increasingly cursive and it is possible, though less likely, that ερ should be read for περ. Both δ's are unmistakable.

2352. Bilingual Document

44·3 × 11 cm. Fifth century.

Fragmentary as this text is, it merits publication if only because no parallel to it exists among the papyri. It is an agreement in which one of the parties appears to use Latin, another Greek, and falls within the wide class of documents covered by the term διάλυσις (cf. R. Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt* i, pp. 305 seq. and 389–90); it probably constitutes less a renunciation of claims, e.g. a debt, than a settlement after court proceedings have begun. It is uncertain whether it is an agreement between the parties or, as is **1880**, a statement addressed to a magistrate, but

it is more likely to be the former. The same hand wrote both the Greek and the Latin.

The papyrus is badly worm-eaten. The verso is blank.

. . . . . .

] deposuisse civiliter negotium aḍ[q]ụe ego Bhic partes eius in hoc negotio nọn

aed( ) *Κατὰ Θαίωνος τότε Ἀπολλώνιος πολιτικώτερον εἰσιέναι τὴν δίκην καὶ*

[συ]ṿοφιλ[.].( )

ὡς σεσημ]ίωται συνορᾷ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀπολλώνιος σχολάζειν νῦν τεμαγερη

Contemplati

]ḟugio *ε′*

5]ti up quae f[....]ẹ[...].memoṛ[.....]ṣ ạuditạ sugge[r]ẹ[.....] (2nd h.)

ọfficii .et.[..] .d[.] responsio

2 l. *Θέωνος* 5 l. *ut*

3 i.e. *rem agere*. All the letters except the *r* (the identification of which I owe to Prof. E. G. Turner) are unmistakably Greek.

No specifically legal use of *contemplor* is recorded in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, although *contemplatio* (in the sense *regard, consideration*, e.g. *mei contemplatione*) is common in legal writers.

2353. Private Letter

15·7 × 27·5 cm. A.D. 32.

This letter is perfectly preserved, but is full of allusions that render it more unintelligible than most private letters. It was acquired by purchase and noted as being 'probably from Oxyrhynchus'. In support of this it may be remarked that Preisigke's *Namenbuch* records no instance of the name Σινθῶνις except from texts of known Oxyrhynchite provenance.

Σινθῶνις Ἁρποχρᾶτι τῷ υἱῶι πλεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παν-
τὸς ὑγιαίνειν· κραζόμενα φάσκεις καὶ ἐγὼ φάσ-
κω· λέγει Διδυμᾶς εἰ{ι}δέν⟨αι⟩ ὅτι μέλλεις παραδῷ-
ναι τὸν δοῦλόν μοι· ποιῆσαι αὐτὸν τὸν Ἁρπουχρᾶ
5 *δέκα ἔτη παρά σε κομᾶν μὴ ἀποστεῖ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀργύ-*
ριν ἐνήνυχέ μοι ὁ υἱὸς Ἔρως διακοσίας δρα-
χμὰς καὶ ἐπιστόλιν εἴληφε παρὰ τοῦ Μεμφει-
τοῦ ἑκατὸν δραχμῶν μέλλων εἰς τὴν ἑ-
ωρτὴν δαπανῆσαι· ἀπέσταλκέ σοι ὁ ἀδελ-
10 *φὸς ἀπὸ Κώπτου ἀπόστειλον Ἁρποχρᾶτι*
τῷ ἀδελφῷ οὐ λελύκαμεν αὐτά· οὐκ οἴδα-
μεν τί ἐκεῖ γέγραπται· ἐάν τι θελῇς ἀπόστει-

λον εἴτε ἄρτους εἴτε ποιρὸν ἀπόστειλον· εἰ
θέλεις ἀφῆσαι τὸ χυρίδιον· μὴ θῦσαι ὃς ὅτου
15 ἐλθῇ· ἀπόστειλον ἐὰν θελῇς θῦσαι αὐτό·
τὸ χυρίδιον ἀπόστειλον· ἐὰν ἐλθῇ ἡ ἀδελ-
φὴ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτῇ μηδὲν λαβῇς παρ' αὐτῆ⟨ς⟩
καὶ εὖ πράττειν.
Ἔρρωσο
20 (ἔτους) ιθ Τιβερίου Καίσαρ{αρ}ος Σεβαστοῦ μηνὸς Σεβαστοῦ ζ

Verso

Ἀπόδ(ος) ⲡⲁⲣⲁ Ϛⲓⲛ[θών]ε(ως) Ἁρποχ(ρᾶτι) τῷ υἱῶι

5 l. σοι, ἀποστῇ, ἐπεὶ 6 l. ἐνήνοχε, ἀργύριον 8 l. ἑορτὴν 10 l. Κόπτου 13 l. πυρὸν 14 l. χοιρίδιον and in 16 l. ὥς = ἕως.

'Sinthonis to Harpochras his son very many greetings and continual health. You are talking nonsense and so am I. Didumas says he knows that you intend to hand the slave over to me. Make Harpochras himself grow his hair long with you for ten years so that he doesn't run off, for his son Eros has brought me the money, two hundred drachmas, and has got a note for a hundred drachmas from the man from Memphis which he means to spend on the festival. Your brother has sent a message from Coptos: "Send a message to my brother Harpochras, 'We have not loosed them'." We don't know what is written there, but send him whatever you want—send loaves or wheat. If you want to, let the pig go, don't sacrifice it until he comes. Send it if you want to sacrifice it. Send the pig. If your sister comes along with her mother, take nothing from her and fare well. Good-bye.' (Date: 4 Sept., A.D. 32.)

(*Verso*) 'Deliver from Sinthonis to Harpochras his son.

3 κραζόμενα: perhaps either 'things talked about', i.e. *commonplaces* or 'things shouted out', i.e. *angrily, in a temper*. But I can find no analogy for either sense, nor for the use of the passive at all. The basic meaning of the word is 'to make an unintelligible noise' (so in the N.T. of madmen, epileptics, &c.); hence the meaning here might be *nonsense*.

4 κομᾶν: presumably in a colloquial sense which might develop out of the habit of letting the hair grow for a vow.

5 We might punctuate after ἀργύριον, but the phrase ἐπὶ τὸ ἀ. goes somewhat awkwardly with ἀποστῇ.

INDEXES

(*The figures* **23** *are to be supplied before* **09–53**; *figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman figures to columns; an asterisk indicates that the word to which it is attached is not recorded in the ninth edition of Liddell and Scott,* Greek–English Lexicon; *square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or partly supplied from other sources or by conjecture; round brackets, in the indexes to non-literary texts, that the word is not complete in the papyrus.*)

I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

(*a*) Ionic Verse (**2309–27**) and Glossary (**2328**)

(b) Nos. 2329–31

(c) 2332 (The Oracle of the Potter)

II. EMPERORS AND REGNAL YEARS

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(*b*) DAYS

VI. PERSONAL NAMES

(br. = brother; d. = daughter; f. = father; h. = husband; m. = mother; s. = son; w. = wife.) (* denotes names not in Preisigke's *Namenbuch*)

VII. GEOGRAPHICAL

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(*b*) Villages, etc.

(*c*) *ἄμφοδα*, etc., of Oxyrhynchus

(*d*) Tribes and Demes

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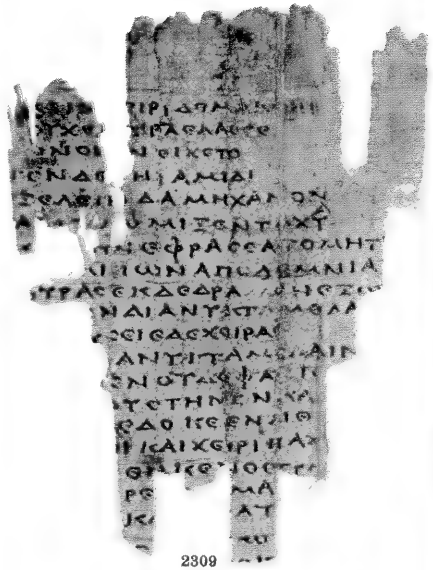
XV. SUBJECTS DISCUSSED



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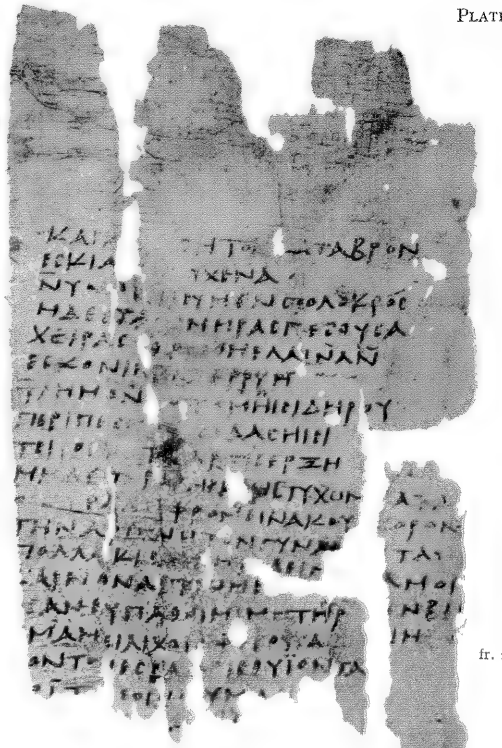

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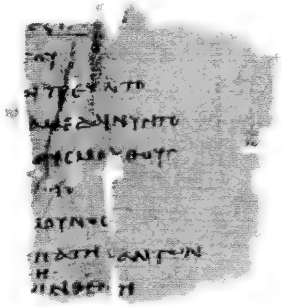

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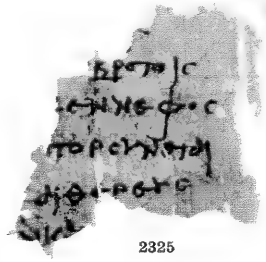

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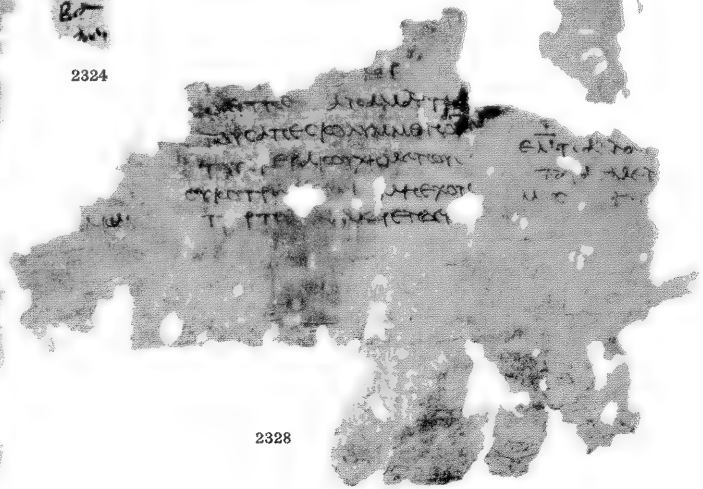

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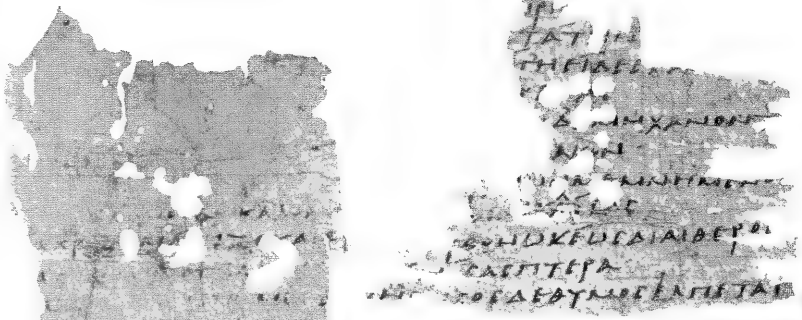

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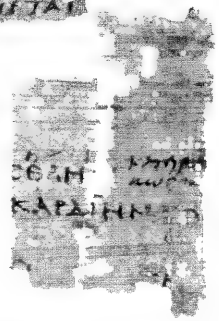

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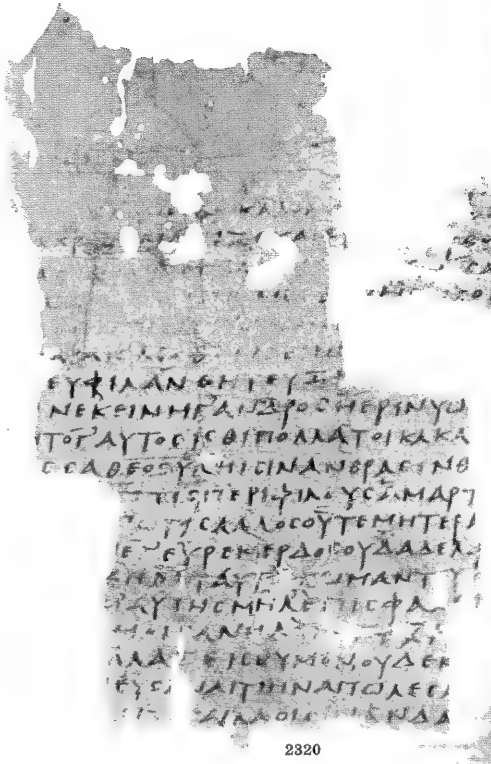

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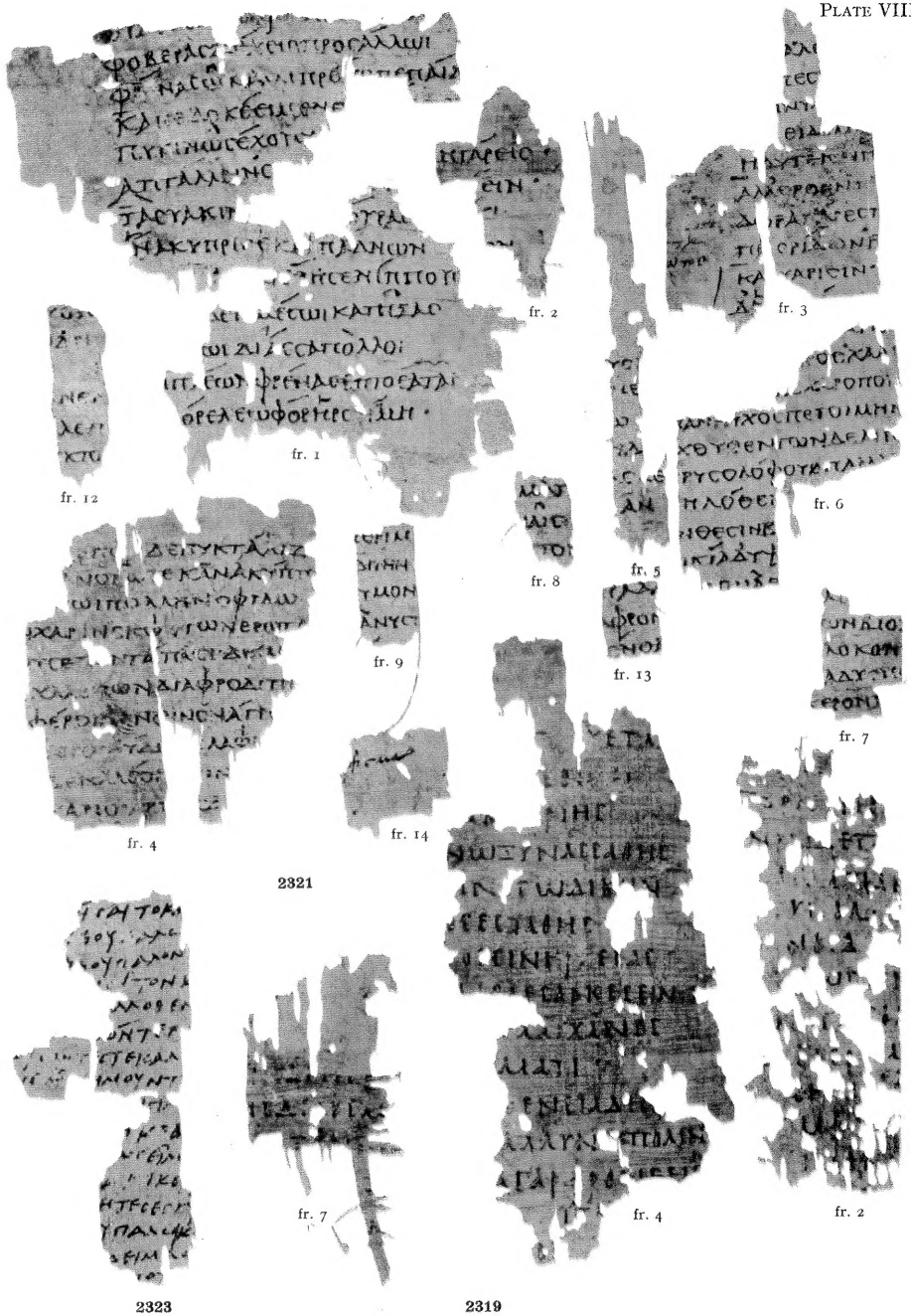
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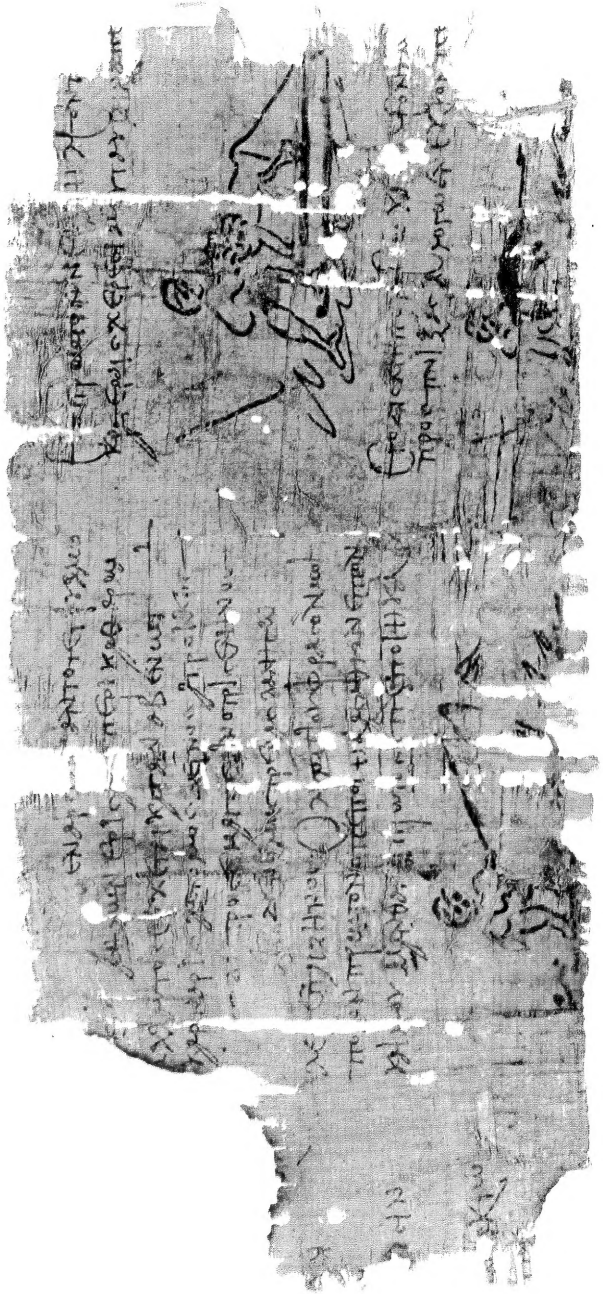

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